

MEMOIRS
OF THE
LIFE
AND
NEGOTIATIONS
OF

Sir *W. TEMPLE*, Bar.

CONTAINING

The most important OCCURRENCES, and
the most SECRET SPRINGS of AFFAIRS in
CHRISTENDOM, from the Year 1665 to the
Year 1681.

WITH

An ACCOUNT of Sir *W. TEMPLE*'s
WRITINGS.

By Mr. A. BOYER.

*Hi mores, hac duri immota Catonis
Secta fuit, servare modum, finemque tueri,
Naturamque sequi, patriaque impendere vitam;
Nec sibi, sed toti genitum se credere mundo.*
Lucan. De Bell. Civ. l. 2.

L O N D O N:

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PREFACE

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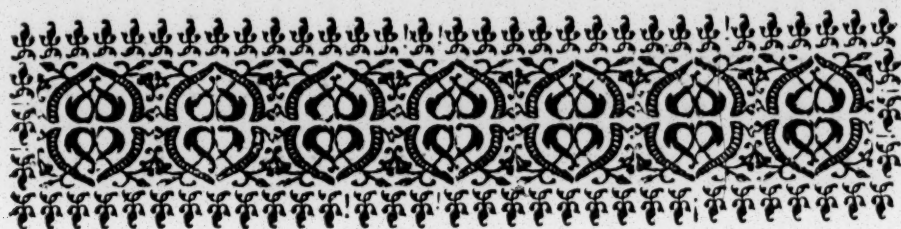


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J. Hall THE

PREFACE.



THE Recording the Lives of Great and Eminent Men has ever been esteem'd the most useful and beneficial Part of History : For, over and above the Debt of Gratitude, which Biographers pay to the Memories of their Worthies, they thereby kindle a generous Emulation and Desire of Praise in virtuous Minds, and set up noble Patterns for the Imitation both of their Cotemporaries and Posterity. Hence it is that the Accounts the judicious Plutarch has left us of the most celebrated Greeks and Romans, are justly reckon'd among the most valuable Remains of Venerable Antiquity ; and that, after the Example of Plutarch, several able Writers, both Antient and Modern, have given Immor-

talities to such as had signaliz'd themselves by their Fortitude, Virtue, Wisdom, and natural Abilities; either by Military Achievements or Civil Institutions; either by useful Inventions or ingenious Performances.

As among the various Classes of Men, they who by their superior Genius and Knowledge, have been thought qualify'd to govern the rest, claim and deserve the first Rank; so the particular Accounts of such Men's Lives as have had a share in the Management of Publick Affairs, are far more Instructive and Entertaining than General Histories: The latter, for the most part, being made up of bare jejune Relations of Publick Transactions; whereas the other acquaint us with the Characters of the principal Actors, and the most Secret Springs of their Actions.

I have often wonder'd that a Person so famous, in several Capacities, as Sir William Temple; one who has so well deserv'd of Mankind in general, and of his Country in particular; one who has left so great a Name in the Commonwealth of Learning, should yet want an Historian to transmit an intire Account of his Negotiations and Writings to After-Ages: And having, some Years, waited
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in vain for such an Account, fir'd, at last, with Indignation at their Negligence, whose Province it seem'd to be, to do Justice to that Great Man, I resolv'd to attempt it my self.

Nor was the Seasonableness of such a Design a small Incentive to this my Enterprize. I seriously reflected on the portentous Tendency of our late unhappy Divisions; and on the fatal Consequences of a furious Paper-War, which for these four Years past has been maintain'd with equal Animosity and Rancour by both Parties. And, on the other hand, I consider'd, that the fiercest Popular Contentions have often been compos'd by the Interposition of a single Person, who by the Dignity of his Appearance, and sober Arguments, asswag'd the Rage of the unthinking Multitude, and brought them back to their Senses. This is admirably well express'd by the Latin Poet :

*Ac veluti magno in Populo, cum saepe coorta est
Seditio, sevitque animis ignobile vulgus;
Jamque faces & saxa volant, furor arma ministrat:
Tum Pietate gravem ac meritis si forte virum quem
Conspexêre, silent, arrectisque auribus astant,
Ille regit dictis animos, & pectora mulcet.*

Virgil. Æn. Lib. 1.

‘ Thus

Thus English'd by Mr. Dryden :

‘ As when in Tumults rise th’ ignoble Croud,
 ‘ Mad are their Motions, and their Tongues
 are loud ;
 ‘ And Stones and Brands in rattling Volleys fly,
 ‘ And all the rustick Arms that Fury can supply :
 ‘ If then some grave and pious Man appear,
 ‘ They hush their Noise, and lend a list’ning
 Ear ;
 ‘ He sooths with sober words their angry Mood,
 ‘ And quenches their innate Desire of Blood.

It were invidious and impolitick in one, who endeavours to level the way towards an Accommodation, to appear so much a Party, as to hint which of the two contending Sides is in the right : But this I will adventure to say, that Sir William Temple appears to me to be the most proper, unexceptionable, and impartial Judge in the present Controversy. He ever was a zealous Stickler for the Establish’d Church and Monarchy, and therefore not to be suspected by our Modern Tories : He was, at the same time, a constant Enemy to Popery and a French Interest ; and therefore not obnoxious to the Whigs. And if this Axiom, Quæ conveniunt

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niunt una Tertio conveniunt inter se, holds true in Politicks, as well as in Logick; both Tories and Whigs, who equally pretend to assert the Constitution in Church and State, and to act for the true Interest of Great Britain, ought to refer their unhappy Disputes to his Umpirage and Decision, who, by common Consent, is allow'd to have been a True Patriot; and whose Notions will be the Standard of our Politicks, at least with respect to Foreign States, as long as Great Britain keeps its present Situation.

I shall not detain the Readers either with giving them a formal Account of my Performance, or making affected Excuses for its Imperfections: Thus much, however, I think necessary to let them know, for their satisfaction, that besides Sir William Temple's Works, which alone might have suffic'd towards the Account I intended of his Publick Life and Writings, I have illustrated the same with many curious Passages extracted from the Letters and Memoirs of Count D'Estrades, the Earl of Arlington's Letters, and other printed Books; over and above several Particulars which I have learn'd from Sir William Temple's

Temple's intimate Friends. Upon the whole matter, as I wanted no Materials towards this Work, so whatever Defects shall appear to be in it, I must be content to bear the Blame; and rest satisfy'd with the honest Intention of contributing all that lay in my Power to the recovering some People from their Infatuation, by a tacit Parallel between former and late Transactions; which I judged to be the best way towards the reconciling our unhappy Divisions.



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L I F E,
NEGOTIATIONS, &c.

OF

Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE Bar.



SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE, one of the greatest Statesmen for foreign Affairs, and one of the best Patriots that ever *England* bore; was the Son of Sir *John Temple* of *Sheen*, Master of the Rolls, and Privy-Counsellor in *Ireland*, in the Reign of King *Charles II.* by *Mary*, Daughter of Mr. *Hammond*, and Sister of Dr. *Hammond*, one of the brightest Luminaries of the Church of *England*. His Grandfather, Sir *William Temple*, Secretary to the famous Earl of *Essex* in Queen *Elizabeth's* Time, was a younger Son of the ancient Family of the *Temples*, of *Temple-Hall* in *Leicestershire*. This our Sir *William Temple*, married *Dorothy* the Daughter of Sir *Peter Osborne*, Governor of

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Jersey

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Fersey for King *Charles I.* by whom he had Nine Children: but only one Son, *John* of *Moor-Park* in *Hampshire*, liv'd to a Man's Estate, and came to an unfortunate End; and one Daughter, *Diana*, surviv'd him. He discover'd from his Youth, a solid penetrating Genius, and a wonderful desire of Knowledge, which his Father took care to cultivate by all the Advantages of a liberal Education. When he had pass'd the *Latin* School, he was sent to the University of *Cambridge*, where he improv'd himself in all the Parts of Human Learning; and made himself perfect Master of the two most useful modern Languages, the *French* and the *Spanish*; so that he may be justly accounted the best Philologer of his Time: Of which more particular Notice shall be taken, when we come to speak of the quiet and serene part of his Life.

He pass'd 20 Years of it in publick Thoughts and Business, viz. from the Thirty Second to the Fifty Second Year of his Age; which he took to be the part of a Man's Life, fittest to be dedicated to the Service of his Prince and Country; the rest being usually too much taken up with his Pleasures or his Ease. His native Love of his Country, and its ancient legal Constitution, would not suffer him either to enter upon any Publick Affairs, till the way was open for the King's Restoration in 1660, or to continue in Business any longer than the Year 1680; when the *Popish* Faction having got the Ascendant, he sent his Son to acquaint the King with his Resolutions, to pass the remainder of his Life, like as good a private Subject as any he had, but never to meddle with any Publick Employment.

King *Charles II.* having, in the Year 1665, declar'd War against the *Dutch*, Sir *William Temple* was, in the Month of * *August*, sent to the Bishop

* See his Letters, Vol. I.

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of *Munster*, upon an Overture made by that Prince, to enter into an Alliance with his Majesty against the *Hollanders*; and having neither Train nor Character, perform'd his Commission with such Dexterity, Secrecy, and Dispatch, that in three Nights, (for he kept close in the day-time) he perfected and sign'd the Treaty: and then return'd to *Brussels*, where Alderman *Backwell* made the first and great Payment of the Subsidies the King was to give the Bishop, without the least Umbrage given to the *Dutch*. After this, he had several private Conferences with the Marquis of *Castel-Rodrigo*, Governor of the *Spanish Netherlands*; who represented to him the mutual Necessity of a Conjunction between *England* and *Spain*, upon Advice that the *French* were marching to the Assistance of the *Hollander*: which Overtures the Court of *England* thought fit to entertain, and thereupon sent Orders to Sir *William* to take on him the Character of Resident; which accordingly he did, Nov. 19. 1665. N. S. And, on the other hand, the King dispatch'd the Earl of *Sandwich*, Ambassador Extraordinary to *Spain*.

In the mean time, the Bishop of *Munster* being press'd by the *Dutch*, the *French*, and the *Brandenburghers*, neither the Emperor, nor *Spain* contributing any thing towards his Assistance; and *England* being backward in paying the remaining part of the Subsidies they had promis'd him, he hearken'd to the Proposals of an Accommodation. Sir *William Temple* first wrote to him a pathetick Letter, (March 19. N. S. 1666.) and about a Month after took a Journey to *Munster*, to endeavour to keep him true to his Alliance, but in vain. Upon his return to *Brussels*, being inform'd that Mr. *Colbert*, the *French* Minister, was to go to *Munster* to hire the Troops the Bishop design'd to dismiss, Sir *Wil-*

liam represented by Letter (*April 27. N. S.*) to that Prince, *How unjust, how treacherous, and how ungrateful it would appear, for those Troops that were rais'd and arm'd by the King his Master's Mony, to enter into the Service of a foreign Prince, now at open Enmity with England; by which means they became Rebels, rather than Enemies:* And therefore desir'd, that those Troops be plac'd in the Service of the King of Spain, who had been long his Britannick Majesty's Friend and Confederate. Some time after this, the French, Dutch, and Munster Envoys met at Cleve, and there concluded a Peace under the Mediation of the Elector of Brandenburg, notwithstanding Sir William's Endeavours to thwart it: for which purpose, with great Difficulty, Trouble and Danger, he repair'd to Munster, passing for a Spanish Envoy; the Treaty being sign'd by that time he got thither. The Bishop would have perswaded him to stay at Munster, till he had represented his Highness's Reasons to the King, and receiv'd his Answer: but Sir William finding that his Design was to keep him as long as he could, while his Agent at Brussels receiv'd Bills of Exchange from England; and judging that no other Service was to be done his Majesty in this Affair, besides saving as much Mony as he could, refus'd to comply. The Bishop finding him immovable, advis'd him however, in pretended Kindness, to go by Cologne, to avoid the Dutch and Brandenburgers that were posted to intercept him. Sir William seem'd to be oblig'd by his Care, but wishing himself well out of it, went away privately that very Night; rode hard, and without any stop, to a Village eight Leagues from Munster: and having baited there an Hour, and pretended to go to Bed, pursued his Journey in Disguise through the wildest Country, and that Night reach'd the Territories of Nieuburgh; from whence he return'd to Brussels, and had the good Fortune to come time enough

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enough to stop several Bills of Exchange, that would otherwise have fallen into the hands of the Bishop's Agent, and to forbid the Payment of the rest he receiv'd in his Absence. Thus ended the whole Affair of *Munster*, that made so much Noise, and rais'd so much Expectation in the World. However, Sir *William Temple* concerted so well with the Bishop, that he engag'd him to send 5 or 6000 of his best Troops into the *Spanish Service*, upon the Marquis de *Castel-Rodrigo's* paying fifty Thousand Pattacoons; and obliging himself to restore them upon Re-payment of the like Sum, whenever the Bishop should have need of them: which spoil'd Monsieur *Colbert's* Errand to *Munster*. Nor was Sir *William Temple's* Residence at *Brussels* useless: For the Treaty between *England* and *Spain* having met with Obstructions at *Madrid*, by reason King *Charles II.* could not be induc'd to abandon the Interest of his new Friend and Ally, the King of *Portugal*; Sir *William* gave the *British* Court very Seasonable Hints and Advertisements, concerning the Affairs and Ministers of *Spain*.

By this time the *English* and *Dutch* growing weary of the War, and the wisest in both Nations sensible that the *French* had inflam'd and fomented the Quarrel, with design to weaken the Maritime Powers, and thereby have an Opportunity of making themselves Masters of the *Spanish Netherlands*; both Parties readily embrac'd the Offers of *Sweden* for mediating a Peace. Hereupon they sent their respective Ambassadors to *Breda*, where the Paces of the Negotiation being quickned, both by the *French* sudden Invasion of *Flanders*, without a Declaration of War, and by the Consternation the *Dutch Fleet* struck on the unguarded Coasts of *England*; the Treaty was sign'd on the 1st of July 1667. Two Months after the Conclusion of this Peace, Sir *William Temple's* Sister taking a strong Fancy to a Journey

ney to *Holland*, to see a Country she had heard so much of, he was willing to give her that Satisfaction, after the melancholy Scene they had at *Brussels* ever since the *French* Invasion of the *Spanish Netherlands*, and so went thither *Incognito*.

While he was at the *Hague*, he made a private Visit to Monsieur *de Wit*, who told him, *He had receiv'd a Character of him to his Advantage, both from Munster and Brussels; and was very glad to be acquainted with him at a time, when both Nations were grown Friends, and had equal Reason to look about them, upon what had lately happen'd in Flanders; seem'd to regret the late unhappy Quarrel between England and Holland, which had made way for this new War among their Neighbours; laid the Fault of England wholly upon Sir George Downing, and gave Sir William Temple the Particulars, together with some of his Thoughts about the present Posture of Affairs.* This occasional Interview laid the Foundation of the great Intimacy and Confidence that grew afterwards between that wise and sagacious Minister and Sir *William Temple*; who, soon after his return to *Brussels*, receiv'd an Express from the King, commanding him to come immediately into *England*; to take the *Hague* in his way; and there, upon the Credit of his late Visit to Monsieur *De Wit*, to 'make him another, and let him know, 'his Majesty had commanded him to do so, on 'purpose to inform himself of the Opinion he had, 'concerning the *French* late Invasion of *Flanders*; 'their great Success there, the appearances of so 'much greater the ensuing Spring; and the 'Thoughts he had of what was the true Interest 'of his Majesty, the States, and the rest of *Christendom*; that the King might thereby be enabled to take such Measures as might be necessary 'for him in this Conjunction.' Sir *William* obey'd this Summons, and spoke with Monsieur *De Wit*, who

who enter'd into great Confidence with him, and told him, That if the *French* should carry *Flanders*, as they very well might in another Campaign, by the Weakness and Disorders in the Government of the *Spanish Netherlands*, the *Dutch* must fall to be a Maritime Province to *France*, upon the best Terms they could; the Empire would expect to see the *French* soon at the *Rhine*, and thereby Masters of four Electors: And what a Condition *England* would be left in, by such an Accession of Maritime Forces, as well as Provinces, to such a Power as *France* was already, was but too easy to guess. Adding, that the *Dutch* could not but be exasperated at this Invasion of *Flanders*, both as dangerous, and as scornful, to them in particular; The *French*, till the very time their Troops were in full March, having given constant Assurances to the States, both at the *Hague* and *Paris*, that they would not invade *Flanders*, without first taking their Measures upon it with their High-Mightinesses.

Sir William Temple made his Report of this Conference to the King, and gave Monsieur *De Wit* the Character he thought he deserv'd, of a very able and faithful Minister to his State, and a sincere Dealer; very different from what Sir *George Downing* had given of him, who would have him pass for such another as himself, but only a craftier Man in the Trade than he. The *English* Court, particularly the Lord Keeper, Sir *Orlando Bridgman*, and the Earl of *Arlington*, being as much provok'd as the *Dutch*; not only upon the Prospect of this new Danger, but also upon the *French* having declar'd War against *England* in favour of *Holland*, without the least Pretence of Injury, or other Occasion; his Majesty, on the first day of *January*, N. S. 1668. came to a Resolution, to enter into a strict League with *Holland*, and to endeavour to extend it to a *Triple Alliance*, by engaging *Sweden* in the same Measures,

Measures, for the mutual Defence of the three Allies, the Preservation of *Flanders*, and the Safety and Repose of Christendom. The Management of these intended Treaties was thereupon committed to Sir *William Temple*, who immediately return'd to * *Holland* with the Character of Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary. Upon his first Conference with Mr. *De Wit*, he told him, 'That the King guess'd by the general Carriage and Discourses of the *Dutch* Ambassador at *London*, the States were not willing to see *Flanders* over-run by *France*, but could not find they had any thing positive to say to him upon that Subject. That he had therefore sent him (Sir *William*) some time before, privately and plainly to tell him his Mind upon it, as to a Man of Honour, and who he believ'd would make no ill use of it; and if he thought fit, to know his Sentiments upon that Affair. That for his Majesty, he neither thought it for his own Interest nor Safety, nor for that of the States, or of Christendom in general, that *Flanders* should be lost; and therefore was resolv'd to do his utmost to preserve it, provided the States were of the same mind, and that it might be done in conjunction between them; and to that end desired to know, whether the States would enter into an Alliance with him, both Defensive between themselves, and Offensive against *France*, for the Preservation of *Flanders*. That Monsieur *De Wit* might remember his Answer was, First, much Applause of his Majesty's Resolution; great Acknowledgment of his Confidence towards him by that Communication, and an Assurance that the States would be of the same mind, as to the Preservation of *Flanders*; which was their

* Jan. 16. N. S. 1668.

' nearest Interest, next their own. That thus, he found
 ' both his Majesty and the States had the same Mind
 ' as well as Interest in this Matter, but that the Dis-
 ' trust remaining upon the late Quarrel between them,
 ' had kept either of them from beginning to enter frankly
 ' upon it. But since his Majesty had been pleas'd to
 ' break it to him, in a manner so obliging; tho he could
 ' not pretend to tell Sir William his Masters (the
 ' States) Mind, yet he would his own; which was,
 ' That the Defence of Flanders was absolutely necessary;
 ' but that it ought to be try'd first, rather by a joint
 ' Mediation of a Peace between the two Crowns of
 ' France and Spain, than by a Declaration of War:
 ' but that if the first would not serve, it ought to come
 ' to the other. That Sir William Temple knew the
 ' French King had already offer'd a Peace, to the
 ' Offices made by the States upon the Alternative,
 ' at the Choice of the Spaniards, viz. either to yield
 ' up to him the Places and Forts, of which he pos-
 ' sess'd himself the last Year; or to make over to
 ' him, by way of Equivalent, all that remain'd to
 ' them in the Dutchy of Luxemburgh, or else in
 ' the Country of Burgundy; together with Cambray
 ' and the Cambresis, Doway, Aire, St. Omer, Wynox-
 ' bergen, Furnes and Lincken, with their Depen-
 ' dencies: Upon the accepting of which last Al-
 ' ternative, the most Christian King would restore
 ' to Spain all the Places the French had possess'd by
 ' their Arms, since they entred Flanders. That he
 ' thought the Mediation of England and Holland ought
 ' to be offer'd to both Crowns upon that foot, to induce
 ' France to make good their own Offer, and Spain to
 ' accept it; and that to this purpose, he thought it
 ' very necessary to make a strict Alliance between his
 ' Majesty and the States. That for making an Offen-
 ' sive Alliance, it could not be; for it was a Maxim
 ' observ'd by that State, never to make any, at least
 ' when they were in Peace: That for Defensive Leagues
 ' they

‘ they had them with many Princes, and he believ’d
 ‘ they would be ready to enter into one with his Maje-
 ‘ sty: at least, he would use all his Endeavours to
 ‘ bring the States to such Opinions and Resolutions.

When Sir William Temple had said this, and observ’d
 by his Action and Face, that he assented to this
 Recital, he ask’d him, ‘ Whether this was all
 ‘ right, that he might know whether he had mista-
 ‘ ken nothing in representing his Majesty’s mean-
 ‘ ing to him, nor his to his Majesty? Monsieur De
 ‘ Wit answer’d, *That it was all right; and much com-
 ‘ mended a Method of proceeding, so exact and sincere.*

Hereupon Sir William pursu’d, ‘ That upon his
 ‘ faithfully representing these Things to the King,
 ‘ his Majesty had taken so much Confidence in his
 ‘ (Mr. De Wit’s) Opinion and Judgment, as well
 ‘ as in his Credit with the States, that he had
 ‘ taken a firm and sudden Resolution upon it; the
 ‘ first, to join with the States in the Offer of a Me-
 ‘ diation between the two Crowns, and upon such
 ‘ Terms as They and He (Sir William) should a-
 ‘ gree; but with a desire, that they might be as
 ‘ advantageous as the States could be induc’d to,
 ‘ for the Preservation of *Flanders*, and Recovery
 ‘ of such Places as should be most necessary to it:
 ‘ And, in the next place, to conclude a Treaty,
 ‘ the strongest that could be, between *England* and
 ‘ *Holland*, for obliging *France* to accept the Peace
 ‘ upon those Terms, and in the mean time for put-
 ‘ ting a stop to the Course of their Arms in *Flan-
 ‘ ders*. But that his Majesty thought it necessary
 ‘ to begin all this with a strict League between him
 ‘ and the States, for their own mutual Defence;
 ‘ and to this purpose, had sent him over as his
 ‘ Envoy to the States, with full Powers, and the
 ‘ Draught of a Defensive League; but refer’d the
 ‘ rest, concerning *Flanders*, to what the States and
 ‘ he should agree.’

Monſieur

Monſieur *De Wit*, who had, ſome Years before, engag'd himſelf very far in the Intereſt of *France*; but who, like a wiſe and dextrous Politician, that is ſenſible of a falſe Step he has committed, rather endeavours to retrieve it by degrees, than by a quick Turn, to expoſe his former Conduct; receiv'd this Diſcourſe of Sir *William Temple* with a Countenance pleas'd, but yet ſomewhat ſurpriz'd, as if he expected not a Return from his Maſteſty ſo ſudden and ſo reſolute. He ſaid, *The States would be very much pleas'd with the Honour his Maſteſty did them, and the Overtures he made them: that Sir William ſhould chuſe his time, whenever he deſir'd it, for his Audience; and would paſs the Forms of demanding it from the Preſident of the Week: That he was ſtill confident, the States would enter with his Maſteſty into the Mediation, tho France gave them hopes of ſucceeding by their own: That the Provinces differ'd in Opinion, upon what Terms the Peace ſhould be made: That Utrecht was ſo bold as to think, nothing but Juſtice ought to be conſider'd in the Caſe: That all that France had conquer'd ſhould be reſtor'd to Spain, and their Pretenſions be refer'd to Judgment or Arbitrage: But Holland, with moſt of the other Provinces, were of another Mind; and conſidering their own preſent Condition, as well as that of France, thought it beſt to keep the French to their own Offer: but he believ'd would come to means of more Force, if France ſhould recede from what they themſelves had advanc'd to the States. That for the Deſenſive League between the King and their High Mightineſſes, he did not know whether the late Sore were yet fit for ſuch an Application, but would try the mind of the States. That he doubted, they would think it like to prove too ſudden a Change of all their Intereſts; and that which would abſolutely break them off from ſo old and conſtant a Friend as France, to rely wholly upon ſo new and ſo uncertain a Friend as England had prov'd.*

Sir *William Temple* answer'd, ' That the doing
 ' what he said, would be the Effect of any Treaties
 ' of this Nature between the two Nations, let
 ' them be as tenderly handl'd and compos'd as they
 ' could. That *France* would take it as ill of the
 ' *English* and *Dutch*, to be stop'd in the remaining
 ' Conquest of *Flanders*, as to be forc'd out of all
 ' they had already gain'd. That he knew very well
 ' it had been long their Design, at any Price, to
 ' possess themselves of the *Spanish Netherlands*; and
 ' he knew as well, that it was their Interest to do
 ' so, considering the Advantages it would give them
 ' over all the rest of Christendom: and that it
 ' was as much the Interest of *England* and *Holland*
 ' to hinder it, and that nothing could do it but a
 ' firm Conjunction between them. That the *States*
 ' part would be next, after *Flanders* was gone; and
 ' therefore they had now as much need of being
 ' protected by *England* against *France*, as they
 ' thought they had three or four Years before, of
 ' being protected by *France* against *England*: and
 ' that they had no other Choice, but either to con-
 ' tinue their Friendship with *France*, till they should
 ' see both *Flanders* and themselves swallow'd up by
 ' such a Neighbour; or else to change their whole
 ' Measures, and enter into the strictest Alliance
 ' with his *Britannick Majesty*, for the Preservation
 ' of both; and let *France* take it as they pleas'd.
 Monsieur *De Wit* confess'd the Designs of *France* for
 the Conquest of *Flanders*; mention'd the Treaties
 they had made with the *States* in Cardinal *Richelieu*'s
 time, and lately offer'd again for Partition-
 ing it between them; and said, ' He under-
 ' stood very well the Danger of such a Counsel and
 ' Neighbourhood, or else he would have fallen in-
 ' to them. But the Ventures were great on the o-
 ' ther side too; that the *States* were much more
 ' expos'd than the King; that the *Spaniards* were
 ' weak

' weak, and ill to be trusted by the States, between
 ' whom there had never yet been any better Mea-
 ' sures, than barely those of the *Munster* Peace,
 ' after so great Rancors and long Hostilities. That
 ' tho he believ'd the *German* Princes would be glad
 ' of what his Majesty propos'd, yet he knew not
 ' how far *Sweden* might be engag'd in the Measures
 ' with *France*; who lay here at their Backs in the
 ' Dutchy of *Bremen*. And last of all, tho this Reso-
 ' lution seem'd now to be taken by his Majesty and
 ' his Ministers, on the surest and wisest Foundations,
 ' which were those of true Interest and Safety; yet
 ' no Man knew how long it might last. That if
 ' they should break all other Measures with *France*,
 ' and throw themselves wholly upon his Majesty by
 ' such a Conjunction, any Change of Counsels in
 ' *England* would be their certain Ruin. That he
 ' knew not this present Ministry, and could say
 ' nothing to them; but that he knew the last too
 ' well.' Upon which he said a good deal, of the
 ' uncertain Conduct of *England*, since the King's Re-
 ' turn; and concluded, that the Unsteadiness of
 ' Counsels in *England*, seem'd a fatal thing to its
 ' Constitution: That he would not judg from what Coun-
 ' sels, but from the time of *Queen Elizabeth*, there had
 ' been a perpetual Fluctuation in the Conduct of *England*,
 ' with whom it was not possible to take Measures for two
 ' Years together. To this Sir William Temple reply'd,
 ' That as to their own Interests, he (Monsieur De
 ' Wit) knew them, and could weigh them better
 ' than himself: That after his Audience and first
 ' Conference with Commissioners, he should quickly
 ' see how the States would understand them; in
 ' which he knew very well how great a part Mon-
 ' sieur De Wit would have. That as for the Danger,
 ' he confess'd the *Dutch* would be first expos'd to
 ' *France*, and *England* the last: which made it
 ' reasonable, they should make the first Pace to
 ' their

‘ their Safety. That for *Sweden*, he had no Orders
‘ to negotiate with them; but being fully instructed
‘ in his Majesty’s general Intentions, he should be
‘ glad to see them strengthen’d all he could: and
‘ to that purpose, if Monsieur *De Wit* thought fit,
‘ he would talk with the Count *De Dhona*, the *Swe-*
‘ *dish* Ambassador at the *Hague*, and see whether he
‘ had any Powers to engage that Crown in any
‘ common Measures for the Safety of Christendom:
‘ and that if by such a Conjunction they could ex-
‘ tend it to a *Triple Alliance*, upon the same Foun-
‘ dation, he believ’d Monsieur *De Wit* would think
‘ it too strong a Bar for *France* to venture on.
‘ That as for the Unsteadiness of the *English*
‘ Counsels, he would rather bewail, than defend
‘ it; but that he should not have made this Jour-
‘ ney, if he had not been confident that had been
‘ ended, and things now bottom’d past any Change
‘ or Remove. That he could not pretend to know
‘ any Body’s Mind certainly, but his own: but
‘ that upon this matter, he was as confident of his
‘ Majesty’s, the Lord-Keeper’s, and the Lord *Ar-*
‘ *lington*’s, as he was of his own. And upon this
‘ Occasion he said a great deal, not only of the
‘ Interests, but Resentments that had engag’d his
‘ Majesty and the Ministers in this Counsel: and
‘ concluded, he was confident it would never break;
‘ if ever it did, it should never be by his Hand; and
‘ he might answer, those two Lords would fall or
‘ stand upon this Bottom.’ Monsieur *De Wit* seem’d
very much satisfy’d with what Sir *William Temple*
had said; assur’d him, for his part, he would give
his Hands towards a good Conclusion of this Affair;
That he would trust his Majesty’s Honour and In-
terest upon so great a Conjunction, as well as the
Sincereness and Constancy of his Ministers; which
he could judg of by no other Lights, but what
Sir *William* gave him: Made him great Compliments
upon

Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE Bar. 15

upon the great Confidence he had taken in him, and his manner of Dealing: And concluded, that *Sir William* should see Count *Dhona*, and try how far *Sweden* was to be engag'd in this Affair.

Accordingly, that very Evening, *Sir William Temple* went to Count *Dhona*, pass'd over the Ceremonies of their respective Characters, by going strait into his Chamber, taking a Chair, and sitting down by him, before he could rise out of his; and told him, 'He hop'd he would excuse this Liberty, upon an Errand wherein he thought both their Masters were concern'd: That he knew nothing to make his seeing the other Ambassadors at the *Hague* necessary; and so was content with the Difficulties had been introduc'd by the usual Ceremonies; but thinking it absolutely necessary for his Master's Service, to enter into Confidence with his Excellency, he had resolv'd to do it in this manner; and, if he gave him leave, to pursue it as if their Acquaintance and Commerce had been of never so long a Date.' The Count embrac'd him, gave him great Thanks for the Honour *Sir William* did him, and the frank and confident manner he us'd with him: and said, He was ready to return it upon any thing he should think fit to communicate to him. Compliments being pass'd, *Sir William* enter'd into the Detail of his whole Progress to that time, both in *England*, and at the *Hague*; of his Majesty's Reasons, of the common Interests of Christendom, of the Reception his Overtures found from Monsieur *De Wit*, and the Hopes he had of succeeding; and of their Discourses about engaging *Sweden* in a *Triple Alliance*. He added, he knew how the Crown of *Sweden* had been treated of late Years by *France*; how close they had kept to the Friendship with his *Britannick* Majesty, and how beneficial as well as honourable such a Part as this might prove to them, by the particular

particular use they might be of to the Crown of *Spain*; and that upon any good Occasion, they might be sure of his Majesty's Offices and the *States*, who resolv'd to enter into this Affair without any other Interest, than that of the Preservation of *Flanders*, and thereby of their own Safety, and the common Good. Count *Dhona* profess'd to applaud his *Britannick* Majesty's Counsel, to be confident that *Sweden* would be content to go his Pace in all the common Concerns of Christendom; which he was assur'd of by his own Instructions, in general: but that such an Affair as this not being foreseen, he could have none upon it. He added, ' That if it succeeded, he would make all the ' Paces he could to engage his Master in it; as what ' he thought of Honour and Advantage to the ' common Safety: But that he would return Sir ' *William Temple*'s Frankness with the same to him, ' in telling him, He doubted his bringing it to an ' Issue. That he first question'd Monsieur *De Wit*'s ' Resolution, to break, upon any Terms, with ' *France*, and close with *England*: not only considering what had lately pass'd between *England* ' and the *States*, but the Interests of the House of ' *Orange*, which *De Wit* must ever believe, would, ' at one time or other, be advanc'd by *England*; ' whereas he was sure to be supported against them ' by *France*: Therefore he believ'd, tho Monsieur ' *De Wit* would not oppose it, because the *States* ' and People might run into it; yet he would find ' some means to elude the Conclusion or Effect of ' it, without appearing himself in any such Design. ' That, in the next place, since such a Treaty could ' not be made by the *States General*, without first ' being sent to all the Provinces and Towns for ' their Approbation, and Orders upon it to their ' Deputies; he did not see how it was possible for ' the *French* Ambassador to fail of engaging some ' Towns

Towns or Provinces against it: and the Opposition of any one of them would lose the Effect, since no new Treaty could be made, by the Constitution of that Republick, without an universal Consent. That however, he would not discourage him, but wish'd him Success with all his heart, upon many Reasons; and among others, as being so much a Servant to the House of Orange, which could not but profit by such a Conjunction between *England* and *Holland*. And again promis'd, whenever Sir William brought it to a Period, to use all his Endeavours, and even stretch his Powers as far as he could, towards engaging his Master in the same Measures.'

In the second Conference Sir William Temple had * with Monsieur *De Wit*, he acquainted him with what had pass'd with Count *Dhona*; which he seem'd much pleas'd with, and said, *Tho it could not be expected the Count should have so general Instructions as to conclude such an Affair, yet an Instrument might be drawn up between the English and Dutch Ministers, whereby room might be left for Sweden to enter, as a Principal, into their Alliance: and Count Dhona had so much Credit at his Court, to recommend it there so as to succeed, especially upon the Hopes they must give him of obtaining Subsidies from Spain, which might countervail what they might lose from France upon that Occasion.* In the next place, they talk'd of the Treaty it self: And Monsieur *De Wit* was of Opinion, that the Condition of forcing *Spain* to accept the Alternative offer'd by the *French* King, was necessary to their common End, and to clear the Means towards it from all Accidents that might arise. And as for the Defensive League, he continued in his former Thoughts, that it should be negotiated between *England* and *Holland*; tho upon

* January 17. N. S. 1668.

the Project offer'd his Majesty at *Scheveling*; by which all matters of Commerce might be so adjusted, as to leave no Seeds of any new Quarrels between the two Nations. After this Sir *William Temple* fell upon the Form of concluding the main Treaty, saying, 'He could easily foretel the Fate of it, if it must pass the common Forms of being sent by the several Deputies, to all their Principals upon it. That he knew this would take up a Month or Six Weeks time; and that nothing would be so easy, as for the *French* Ambassador to meet with it in running that Circle, and by engaging some one Member, perhaps by Money thrown among the chief Persons in some of the small Towns, to prevent and ruin a Counsel of the greatest Importance to Christendom, as well as to *England* and *Holland*, that had been on foot in many Ages. And that unless the *States General* would conclude and sign the Treaty immediately, and trust to the Approbation of their several Provinces and Towns after it was done; he should give it for gone, and think no more of it.' Monsieur *De Wit* seem'd to think this impossible; said, no such thing had ever been done since the first Institution of their Commonwealth: That tho it was true, the *States-General* might sign a Treaty, yet they could not ratify it, without recourse to their Principals; and that they should venture their Heads by signing it, if their Principals, not approving it, should question them for doing it without Orders: That he hop'd the Forms might be expedited in three Weeks time; and that all Care should be taken to prevent the Address'es of the *French* Ambassador among the Provinces. But Sir *William* cut the matter short, and told him, 'He continu'd of his first Opinion, to see it immediately agreed between himself and the Commissioners, and then signed by the States; which might

might be done in four or five days; and that the Deputies might safely trust to the Approbation of their Principals in a Point of so great and evident Publick Interest. That for his part, he knew not how much this Delay, and thereby Hazard of the Affair, might be interpreted in *England*, nor what Change in his Orders it might produce: That he had now Powers to conclude an Alliance, of the last Consequence to the Safety of *Flanders* and *Holland*; that if it should miscarry by the too great Caution of the Deputies in point of Form, for ought he knew, they might venture their Heads that way, and more deservedly, than by signing at present, what all of them believed would not only be ratify'd, but applauded by their Principals.' And with this Sir *William Temple* left him.

It is to be observ'd, that the first time he saw Monsieur *De Wit*, the latter told him, *He came upon a Day he should always esteem very happy, both in respect of his Majesty's Resolutions which Sir William brought, and of those the States had taken, about the disposal of the chief Commands in their Army; by making Prince Maurice and Monsieur Wurtz, Field-Masters-General, and the Prince of Tarante and Rhingrave, Generals of the Horse; each to command in Absence of the other.* Sir *William* laid hold on this Occasion, to say what the King gave him order, in favour of the Prince of *Orange*; which Monsieur *De Wit* seem'd to take very well, and said, *Was very obliging to the States: that for his own part, he never fail'd to see the Prince once or twice a Week, and grew to have a particular Affection for him; and would tell Sir William plainly, that the States design'd the Captain-Generalship of all the Forces for him, so soon as by his Age he grew capable of it: But this appear'd afterwards to be but a Compliment.*

On the 18th of January N. S. 1668, Sir William Temple had his Audience, which pass'd with all the Respect that could be given to his Character; and the next Morning began his Conference with the eight Commissioners of Secret Affairs. Having shewn his Powers, and seen theirs, 'He offer'd them the Project of the *Defensive League*, as that which 'was to be the Foundation of all further Negotiation; and without which, perhaps, neither 'of the Parties should be very forward to speak 'their Minds with Confidence and Freedom, in 'what concern'd their Neighbours, being likely 'therein to shock so great Powers abroad: Adding, 'that his Majesty having resolv'd, as far as he could 'in Honour, to comply with the Sense of the States 'in the Offices of *Mediation* between *France* and 'Spain, he expected from them the Knowledg of 'the *States* Resolution, in case they were already 'agreed.' Sir William Temple took this Course in his first Proposals, because upon his Arrival at the *Hague* he found, that the Provinces were divided in their Opinions, five of them only having come into that of Monsieur *De Wit*: but *Zealand* being for agreeing with *France* in dividing *Flanders*, and *Utrecht* for suffering *France* only to retain the last Years Conquest, by way of *Compromise*, till their Pretensions were adjudg'd before competent Arbiters, to be agreed by the two Crowns, or by the joint Mediators. Monsieur *De Wit*, who spoke for all the Commissioners, after a Preamble of the usual Forms and Compliments on the King's happy Dispositions, to enter into a nearer Alliance with the *States*, declar'd the same Resolution in their High Mightinesses: and allowing a mutual Confidence by a *Defensive League* for the Basis of the rest, said, The *States* were willing to have *Clauses* for their common Safety inserted in the *Articles* of the *Mediation*. And was large upon this Argument, that the last, being

William being of very pressing Haste, as well as Necessity ;
 and they having already Order from their Provin-
 ces to proceed upon it, they could not have the
 same Powers upon the *Defensive*, being a new Mat-
 ter, under six Weeks or two Months time : but
 as soon as they receiv'd them, would send their Am-
 bassadors in *England* Instructions to go upon that
 Treaty ; which must, for a Basis, have, at the same
 time, an Adjustment of Matters of Commerce.
 To cut this matter short, Sir *William Temple* told
 them directly, ' He had no Orders to proceed up-
 ' on any other Points but in Consequence or Con-
 ' junction of the *Defensive League* ; in which he
 ' thought his Majesty had all the Reason that could
 ' be ; both because he would not venture a War's
 ' ending in *Flanders* to begin upon *England* : and
 ' on the other side knew, the *States*, whose Danger
 ' was nearer, would never be capable of taking
 ' any vigorous Resolutions in their Neighbours
 ' Affairs, till they were secure at home by his Ma-
 ' jesty's Defence. That his Majesty thought the
 ' most generous and friendly Advance that could be,
 ' was made on his side by his Proposition, be-
 ' ing himself so much more out of Danger than
 ' they were, and so much courted to a Conjunction
 ' with *France* to their Prejudice, as well as that of
 ' *Flanders* ; that they had not made a Difficulty of
 ' such Alliances with Princes, who had lately Quar-
 ' rels with them, as well as his Majesty : and that,
 ' God be thank'd, his Majesty was not in a Condi-
 ' tion to have such an Offer refus'd by any Prince
 ' or State in Christendom.' After some other
 Discourses on both sides, it was resolv'd, that
 Monsieur *De Wit* and Monsieur *Isbrants* should spend
 that Afternoon with Sir *William Temple*, at his Ex-
 cellency's Lodgings, to endeavour the adjusting of
 Circumstances, since they seem'd to agree in Sub-
 stance : Which they did accordingly, and advanc'd
 to

to this Point, That instead of the Project of *Scheveling*, or any new Adjustment, concerning Marine Affairs, the *States* would proceed upon his Majesty's Project of a *Defensive League*, provided the Provisional Articles in the *Breda Treaty* might be inserted and perpetuated in this; and that thereupon they should expect the King's Answer to what *Sir William Temple* should write that Night. The next Morning (Saturday Jan. 21. N. S.) *Sir William* desir'd another Conference with these two Commissioners, but could not have it till the Afternoon; they being to report to the *States* what had pass'd the Evening before. At their Meeting, they acquainted him with the *States* Resolution, conformable to Monsieur *De Wit*'s Opinion, That it was necessary the Articles Provisional should be inserted in the Treaty: So as *Sir William* began to doubt a stop of all, till his Majesty's Answer, which subjected all to uncertainties. He knew that Count *D'Estrades*, the *French* Ambassador, was grown into very ill Humour upon his Arrival, and had fallen into Complaints and Expostulations with several of the *States*; and the more, because he could not see Monsieur *de Wit* from *Sir William*'s coming over, till that time, tho he had often press'd it. He knew likewise, that vigilant *French* Minister had thereupon dispatch'd an Express to *Paris*, which he thought would make no delay; and therefore resolv'd to fall upon all Instances and Expedients he could, to draw up a sudden conclusion. Hereupon, he told the *Dutch* Commissioners, ' He desir'd it extremely, before he could hear a gain from *England*, because he had left the Marquis *De Ruigny* (the *French* Ambassador in *London*) very busy at his coming away, and not unbefriended. That he fear'd the same Artifices of *France* to disturb their Measures at the *Hague*; and perhaps Monsieur *D'Estrades* might, at his

next

next Meeting, infuse some Jealousies into the
 States, by the Relation of what had pass'd be-
 tween the Earl of *Arlington* and Monsieur *De*
Ruvigny, three or four days after the date of his
 (Sir *William Temple's*) Instructions: Upon which
 he told them frankly (as the King had given him
 leave) what had pass'd, in relation to a Scheme
 propos'd by *France* to the King of *England*, for
 dividing the *Spanish Netherlands*. Monsieur *De*
Wit, startled by this Discovery, ask'd Sir *William*,
Whether he could shew him the Paper drawn up between
the Earl of Arlington and Monsieur De Ruvigny?
 And Sir *William* answering, He had it not: Mon-
 sieur *De Wit* desir'd earnestly, he would procure it
 him; assuring him, *No use should be made of it but*
by joint Consent: Adding, *Nothing would serve so*
far to justify the States, in case of a Breach growing
necessary between them and France. Sir *William Tem-*
ple promis'd to write to the Earl of *Arlington* a-
 bout it: and the better to engage Monsieur *De Wit*,
 told him, 'What Confidence he (Sir *William*) had
 given his Majesty of his sincere Proceedings; and
 how he had been supported by the Earl of *Ar-*
lington in those Suggestions, against the Opinion
 of some other great Men: What Advantage these
 would take, if they saw this whole Negotiation
 was stop'd upon a thing that look'd like a *Chica-*
nery; since *Articles Provisional* till new Agree-
 ments, were in effect as strong as *Perpetual*, which
 might even be chang'd by new Agreements:
 That this would be esteem'd an Artifice of Mon-
 sieur *De Wit*, especially since he had declar'd,
 That it was his Opinion not to conclude without in-
 serting those *Articles*, which yet he could not deny
 to be of present Force'. Monsieur *Isbrants* was
 satisfy'd with Sir *William Temple's* Reasons, and
 said, He would undertake his Province should be so
 too: But Monsieur *De Wit* said, *Holland and Zealand*
 would

would not. Hereupon Sir *William* told them, ' He
' was sure the States would not think fit to lose
' the Effect of the League propos'd upon such a
' Point, as the seeing the King's Resolution in An-
' swer to his Letter, before they concluded, with
' Resolutions, however, that this should not hinder
' at last: That he foresaw many things might hap-
' pen in ten days time to break all their good In-
' tentions, and some more than he had told them,
' or could at present: That if they knew him,
' and how far he was to be trusted, where he gave
' his Word, he would propose an Expedient to
' them; but being new among them, he thought
' it was to no purpose.' Here he paus'd: And
they desiring he would, however, propose that Ex-
pedient, he did so; which was, ' That they should
' proceed to draw up the whole Project, and sign
' as soon as was possible: and that in case he after-
' wards receiv'd his Majesty's leave to insert those
' Provisional Articles, he would freely declare it
' to them, and insert them in a separate Article,
' to be a part of the *Defensive League*.' They
both look'd a while upon one another, and after
a Pause, Monsieur *De Wit* gave Sir *William Temple*
his hand; complimented him in the Confidence he
had taken in his Face, and in the rest of his deal-
ing since their first Commerce; told him, That if
he would promise them, on the Word of an honest
Man, what he had said, they would ask no further
Assurance of him: and provided the Treaty of
Breda might be confirm'd in the Preamble of this,
for his part, tho he could promise nothing what
the States would resolve, yet he would promise that
himself and Monsieur *Isbrants* would use their ut-
most endeavours to induce them to proceed upon
his Proposition. Sir *William Temple* knowing that
new Treaties use to begin by Confirmation of the
old, made no difficulty about it; and so they fell
imme-

immediately to digest the Project of the whole Treaty in three several Instruments. The first contain'd 'a League Defensive and Perpetual, between the King of *Great-Britain* and the States, against all Persons, without exception, that should invade either of them; with Agreement to furnish each other, upon occasion, with forty Ships of War, of which Fourteen between Sixty and Eighty Guns, and four hundred Men a-piece one with another; Fourteen more, between Forty and Sixty Guns, and three hundred Men a-piece; and of the other Twelve, none under Thirty six Guns, and a Hundred and Sixty Men. Besides this, with Six Thousand Foot, and Four Hundred Horse, or Mony instead of them, at the Choice of the Invaded; and to be repaid within three Years after the end of the War: the Proportions of Mony to the several Parts of the said Aid, being ascertain'd in the said Treaty.' The second Instrument contain'd, 'The joint Obligations of *England* and the *United Provinces*, to dispose *France* to make Peace in *Flanders* upon one of the Alternatives already propos'd; and likewise to dispose *Spain* to accept it before the end of *May* next: but in case of Difficulty made by them, to dispose *France* however, to stop all further Progress of its own Arms there, and leave it wholly to the Allies to procure the Ends propos'd in this League.' The third Instrument contain'd four separate Articles, of the same Force with the Treaty, *viz.* First, 'That if in the procuring of a Peace between *France* and *Spain*, any difficulty should arise about the Point of the *RENUNCIATION*, it should be so contriv'd, that either no mention at all should be made of it in the Treaty, or, at least, that the Form should be conceiv'd in such Words, as nothing might accrue to either of the two Crowns, on

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' account

' account of the said *Renunciation*; nor any Preju-
 ' dice be created to either of them, in point of
 ' Right: But if either of the two Kings should
 ' refuse their Consent to this Expedient, then the
 ' King of *Great Britain* and the States General,
 ' should proceed against the Refuser, in the man-
 ' ner agreed in the second Instrument. *Secondly*,
 ' That the King of *Great Britain* and the States,
 ' should use their utmost Endeavours, that a Peace
 ' might be establish'd between the Kings of *Spain*
 ' and *Portugal*; but with this Condition, that in
 ' case this Negotiation could not be so soon ac-
 ' complish'd, such a Delay should not, on the Most
 ' Christian King's part, hinder the Peace between
 ' him and *Spain*; except only that it should be
 ' free for the *French* King to assist the King of *Por-*
 ' *tugal*, his Ally; but that he should wholly abstain
 ' from the *Low-Countries*, as possess'd of Peace, and
 ' not involv'd in the Disputes of either Party.
 ' And if during the said War, the Auxiliary Forces
 ' of the *French* King should possess themselves of
 ' any Places in *Spain* and *Italy*, he should restore
 ' them to *Spain*, as soon as the Peace with *Portugal*
 ' should be made. But if the King of *Spain* should
 ' refuse to make Peace with the Kings of *France* and
 ' *Portugal*, under the Exception of leaving the first
 ' at liberty to assist the other, in such a Case the
 ' King of *Great Britain* and the States should em-
 ' ploy themselves effectually to procure the Consent
 ' of the *Spaniards*; but yet with this Proviso, that
 ' the *French* King should also oblige himself not to
 ' make War in the *Low-Countries*. *Thirdly*, That
 ' in case the most Christian King should not ac-
 ' complish his Promise, (as to the Alternatives by
 ' him propos'd) or should reject the Cautions and
 ' Provisions express'd in the second Instrument,
 ' which were so necessary to obviate the just Fears
 ' of his Intentions, to make a farther Progress
 ' into

‘ into the said *Low-Countries*; or if he should endeavour by any Subterfuge, to elude the Conclusion of the Peace; then *England* and the *United Provinces*, should join themselves to the King of *Spain*, and with all their united Force, make War against *France*; not only to compel that Crown to make Peace upon the Conditions aforesaid, but also, if it should be thought expedient, to continue the War, till things should be restor’d to that Condition, in which they were at the time of the *PYRENEAN TREATY*. Fourthly, That these separate Articles should be confirm’d and ratify’d, and the mutual Instruments of Ratification exchange’d on both sides, within four Weeks.’ It is to be observ’d, that the Minutes, or first Draught of these Instruments was in *French*, and that the only Difficulty that occur’d was in this Expression, viz. *In case their Persuasions to Spain should not prevail, and they should come, à la Force & à la Contrainte*; which Sir William Temple moderated at first by the words (*aux moyens plus durs*) and afterwards (*aux moyens plus efficaces*.) Having set up all Saturday Night, till Sunday Morning, (Jan. 22. N. S.) they agreed upon the Project in *French*, and gave Order for the translating it into *Latin*; which was done, persus’d by Sir William Temple and the *Dutch* Commissioners; agreed to between Twelve and One that Night; engross’d by Eleven next Monday * Morning; and at a Meeting with the Commissioners jointly, was signed and sealed, and mutually deliver’d between Two and Three that Afternoon. After sealing, they all imbrac’d with much Kindness, and Applause of Sir William Temple’s saying, on that Occasion, *A Breda comme Amis, icy comme Freres*; that is, *At Breda like Friends, here like Brothers*.

* Jan. 23. N. S.

And Monsieur *De Wit* made him a most obliging Compliment, of having the Honour which never any other Minister had before him, of drawing the States to a Resolution and Conclusion in five Days, upon a Matter of the greatest Importance; and an Assistance of the greatest Expence they had ever engag'd in: and all directly against the Nature of their Constitutions, which enjoin'd them recourse to their Provinces: Adding, That now it was done, it look'd like a *MIRACLE*. 'Tis, indeed, hardly imaginable, the Joy and Wonder conceiv'd in *Holland*, upon the Conclusion of this Treaty, brought to an Issue in five Days; nor the Applause given to his *Britannick* Majesty's Resolution, as the wisest and happiest that could, in this Conjunction, be taken by any Prince, both for his own, and his Neighbours Affairs. Nor were the Counsels and Conduct, either of the present Ministry in *England*, or of Sir *William Temple*, less commended: The thing being almost done at the *Hague*, as soon as his Journey was known in *London*, and before his Errand was suspected by any Publick Minister in *England*. To this purpose Sir *William Temple* wrote * with no less Wit than Modesty, to Monsieur *Gourville*, a Minister of *France*, at that time residing at *Lunenburg*.
 ' That People would needs have him (Sir *William*
 ' pass for one of great Abilities, for having finish'd
 ' and sign'd, in five days, a Treaty of such Importance to Christendom. But he would tell Monsieur *Gourville* the Secret of it: To draw (continues Sir *William*) things out of their Center, requires Labour and Address to put them into Motion: but to make them return thither, Nature helps so far that there needs no more than just to set them a going.
 ' Now, I think, a *STRICT ALLIANCE* is the
 ' *TRUE CENTER* of our Two *NATIONS*

* February 7. N. S.

There was also another Accident, which contributed very much to this Affair; and that was, a great Confidence arisen between the Pensioner and Me—— In short, the Two Nations are closer united, than if there never had been a War. For Affairs in general, I can tell you nothing, but that our common Design is to give Peace to all Christendom: So that if France pleases, they may have it this Spring; if not, (as Monsieur D'Estrades says, at least not after our Fashion) they may have their Fill of the War.'

In answer to this, Monsieur Gourville wrote * to Sir William, ' That all his modest Reasoning would not hinder him from believing, that any other Minister the King of England could have sent to the Hague, would not have finish'd in many Months, what Sir William had done in four Days. That he suspected at first, this Treaty had been made by some Concert with the Marquiss of Castel-Rodrigo; and that he was strongly persuaded the (French) King, his Master, would hold to the Alternative: Monsieur De Lionne having sent him word, That his Majesty was content with what had been done at the Hague; and that if the manner of it had been a little more obliging, there was nothing more to be desired.' But, it seems, either Monsieur Gourville was not in the Secret of his Court; or the latter part of his Letter was but Grimace and Dissimulation. The French Ambassador at the Hague, who better foresaw the Consequences of this Alliance, and what a Bar it might prove to his Master's future Designs; and who, on the other hand, fondly believ'd the States would never have ventur'd upon such a step; was very much surpriz'd with the Conclusion of this Treaty.

* February 22. N. S.

Sir

Sir William Temple observes *, that upon his first Conference with the Dutch Commissioners, Count D'Estrades had said, *All would go into Smoak, and the King his Master would laugh at it.* And the Day before their signing, being told, they advanc'd very fast, he reply'd; *Well, six Weeks hence we'll talk on't: relying upon the Forms of the State, to run the Circle of their Towns.* But when † Monsieur De Wit and Sir William Temple communicated to him the Treaty (except the separate Articles) he said coldly, *That he doubted they had taken a right way to their End: That the fourth Article of the second Instrument, was not in Terms very proper to be digested by a King Twenty Nine Years old, and at the head of eighty thousand Men: That if the King of Great Britain and the States had joined, both to desire his Master to prolong the Offer he had made, of a Cessation of Arms till the time they propos'd; and withal, not to move his Arms further in Flanders, tho Spain should refuse, they might hope to succeed: But if they thought to prescribe him Laws, and force him to compliance, by Leagues between themselves, or with Spain, tho Sweden and the German Princes should join with them, he knew his Master would not yield, and that it would come to a War of Forty Years.* From this he fell a little warmly upon the Proceeding of the States, saying, *They knew his Master's Resolutions upon those two Points, Neither to prolong the Cessation propos'd, beyond the end of March, nor to desist the Pursuit of his Conquests with his own Arms, in case Spain consented not to his Demands within that time.* He added, *That his Britannick Majesty not being his Master's Ally, might treat and conclude what he pleas'd without his Offence; but for the States, who were the nearest Ally of France, to conclude so much to his Ma-*

* Vol. I. of his Letters, p. 149.

† Jan. 24. N. S.

Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE Bar. 31

ster's disrespect at least, and without communicating with him (the Ambassador) at all during the whole Treaty, he must leave it to his Master to interpret as he thought fit: Concluding, that what surpriz'd him most was, that there was no Engagement on the part of the King of England and the States, to come to an open Rupture with the Spaniards, in case they refus'd the Conditions offer'd by his Master.

Monsieur De Wit defended the Cause and common Intentions of his Britannick Majesty and the States, with great Phlegm and Steddiuess; and to palliate the matter, told the French Ambassador, * That the Treaty could not be couch'd in other Terms, both in order to draw the King of England into it, and bring him off from Spain, and to get the Consent of the several Provinces, who otherwise would still have stop'd its conclusion; the Opinion of the Province of Holland for a Rupture, not being sufficient: but that Satisfaction should be given on that Point, to the most Christian King, by Monsieur Beuningen, whom the States had resolv'd to send Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Paris, to sign a Treaty with the most Christian King; wherein things would be clearly express'd, and the word Rupture specify'd. But that in a Republick like this, one must follow the Rules of its Constitution, and lay hold of favourable Opportunities, as he had done on this Occasion. That he besought the (French) King to be persuaded, that the States would procure for him either of the two Alternatives; and that the Spaniards would not be able to stand the Declarations which the Kings of England and Sweden, the States General, the Dukes of Lunenburgh, and other Princes their Allies, would make, at the same time, to induce the Spaniards to accept

* See Count D'Estrades Letters, Vol. V. p. 211.

the

'the said Alternative.' Monsieur D'Estrades remain'd firm in his former Expostulations ; and, after he was gone, Monsieur De Wit told Sir William Temple, that *this was the least they could expect at first from a Frenchman ; and that Sir William would do well however, to give his Britannick Majesty an Account of it by the first ; that they should put themselves early in Posture, to make good what they had said : and that as to the Time and Degree of their arming, he would consult with the States, and let Sir William know their Thoughts, to be communicated to his Majesty.*

The next * day Sir William Temple and Monsieur De Wit, made the like Communication of their Treaty to the Spanish Ambassador, who receiv'd it with the same Descants upon the Hardship of it ; but, in Sir William's Opinion, with satisfaction at Heart.

On the 26th Count Dhona, the Swedish Ambassador, with whom Sir William Temple had gone along in the whole Business with perfect Confidence and Concert, signed a separate Article, or Instrument, jointly with Sir William and the States Commissioners ; obliging his Master to enter as a Principal into the same Alliance, (*that the said League might acquire the Substance as well as the Form of a Triple Agreement ; to which all the respective Parties should make it their Business to invite their Friends and Allies, if any of them should desire to be admitted*) so soon as some Pretensions the King of Sweden had from the Emperor and Spain, were satisfy'd by the good Offices of England between them : For which purpose Count Dhona set out the next † Day for England, in the Company of Mr. Henry Temple, Brother to Sir William, with the whole Account of the Business, and the Treaties sign'd in order to their Ratification.

* Jan. 25. N. S.

† Jan. 27. N. S.

Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE Bar. 33

On the 19th of *January*, O. S. Mr. *Temple* arriv'd at *Whitchall*, to the general Satisfaction of the Court and City: For it was observ'd, that this *Triple Alliance* was so grateful to the Parliament and People, that it was of mighty Service to the King and his Ministry; and cover'd them a while from all Suspicion of *Popery* and *French* Interest: And about ten Days after, the Ratifications from *England* were receiv'd at the *Hague*, with the same universal Joy that the Treaty was concluded. I have been the longer in the relation of this Transaction, not only because, in the Opinion of the best Politicians, it was the wisest step King *Charles II.* made in the whole Course of his Reign, both with respect to his Neighbours and his own Subjects; but also because it discover'd the true Sentiments and Opinions of both Nations, in relation to the growing Power of *France*.

While these things pass'd in *Holland*, the *French* King took the Resolution to march in Person at the Head of an Army, in order to possess himself of *Franche-Compté*; which Design he thought fit to communicate to the States-General, by a Letter of the 22d of *January* 1668. N. S. wherein his most Christian Majesty told them, ' That * the two principal Motives that prompted him to this Expedition, were, *First*, the giving their High Mightinesses more effectual means to dispose the *Spaniards* to Peace. *Secondly*, His own Security, upon Advice that the *Spanish* Ambassador at *Vienna* endeavour'd to engage the Emperor to send an Army into *Burgundy*. But declaring withal, that how prosperous soever this Expedition might be, he would not, upon that score, expect higher, or more advantageous Conditions of Peace, than such

* See Count D'Eftrades Letters and Memoirs, Vol. V. p. 205.

' as he had offer'd to be contented with till the
 ' end of *March*.' Tho the States were somewhat
 startled at this new Enterprize of *France*, yet they
 resolv'd to set a good Face upon it, and to seem
 to believe it might the more incline the *Spaniards*
 to the Alternative propos'd by his most Christian
 Majesty: And, on the other hand, they were ex-
 treme glad of this Opportunity, to give a plausible
 Turn to the Measures they had lately taken, in
 Conjunction with the King of *England*. Hereupon
 they wrote * to the *French* King, ' That ever since
 ' his Majesty had acquainted them with his last In-
 ' tention, concerning the Satisfaction which might
 ' put an end to the War between him and the King
 ' of *Spain*, they had us'd all their Application and
 ' incessant Endeavours to procure it for him, and
 ' to dispose the *Spaniards* to acquiesce in it; but
 ' met with such opposition, that they despair'd of
 ' Success, unless they could bring them into the same
 ' Views and Sentiments, who were able to second
 ' their good Intentions. That, at last, they had
 ' the Happiness to see their Endeavours prospe-
 ' rous: The King of *Great Britain* having explain'd
 ' himself in such a manner as his (most Christian)
 ' Majesty could desire for his own Satisfaction:
 ' and being dispos'd to act effectually with them,
 ' in order to dispose the *Spaniards* to grant his Ma-
 ' jesty's Demands; which they had communicated
 ' to the Count *D'Estrades*. That they did not
 ' doubt his Majesty's being pleas'd with their Pro-
 ' ceedings in this matter; which so well express'd
 ' their Affection and Zeal for his Glory and Satis-
 ' faction, as well as for the Repose of Christendom.
 ' All which they would testify more at large, by
 ' the Mouth of the Ambassador Extraordinary, whom
 ' they would send with all speed, to concert with

* January 26. 1668. N. S.

‘ his Majesty the most effectual means to bring this ‘ great Work to a Conclusion.’ However, we may observe, that the States-General made no haste in dispatching away Monsieur *Van Beuningen*, their Ambassador Extraordinary; which increas’d the *Jealousy* and Uneasiness of the Court of *France*.

Nor were their Suspicions ill grounded: For it is to be observ’d, that in all that was digested in the Treaty between *England* and *Holland*, and that was to pass in their intended Negotiation with *France*, upon this Occasion, the States avoided calling the parts both Nations were to act, a *Mediation*; because *that* seem’d to import a *Neutrality*: whereas upon failing of their Offices towards a Peace, they were to take their shares in the War. As for the Method and Manner of pursuing it, upon the *French* refusal, Sir *William Temple* had several Conferences with Monsieur *De Wit*, in which Expedients were likewise propos’d, for removing the Difficulty about the *Flag*; which was the only matter that could now occasion any Dispute between the two Nations. As for the Provisional Articles, for which Sir *William Temple* had engag’d his Word, he told Monsieur *De Wit*, His Majesty had, in his Answer, given him leave to do it, with an Article for the Meeting of Commissioners, at both Parties desire, either to supply, change, or retrench what should be found defective, inconvenient, or superfluous; so as it might appear to be an original Treaty between the two Nations: which would be more for their Honour, than to copy after the *French*. Sir *William Temple* made the King’s Concession in this Point, easy for these two ends: That either they finding his Majesty indifferent in it, might grow so too; Men being commonly apt to pull the harder, the faster another holds: or else (if they insisted upon it, since he was already engag’d) to value a thing which cost

the King nothing, for as much Obligation as he could to the *States*; which might make way for some material Return upon another Occasion.

Monsieur *De Wit* was very much pleas'd with his Majesty's Compliance; and said, If Sir *William* knew any Particulars which he desir'd should be added, or chang'd, for common Convenience, he doubted not but they two should agree upon them in twenty four Hours; but seem'd unwilling it should pass thro other Hands, or remain undone. After much Discourse, and no way left for Sir *William* to avoid the thing, it was agreed that it should be done; but with an ample Article for the meeting of Commissioners. Accordingly a Provisional Treaty of Navigation and Commerce between *England* and the *United Provinces*, was concluded and sign'd on the 17th of *February* 1668. N. S. But 'tis observable, that Sir *William* was somewhat troubled he could not evade the Performance of his former Promise, the Earl of *Arlington* having inform'd him, That his Majesty would rather have it otherwise: But he thought it had been worse in leaving a Dissatisfaction and Distrust between the two Nations. And besides, the Lord-Keeper in a Letter to Sir *William*, seem'd to lay no weight upon it, if done in the manner above-mention'd. And I know, said Sir *William* in a Letter to the Earl of *Arlington*, you both put a great deal, upon any Person's, employ'd by his Majesty, being and passing for an HONEST MAN. 'Tis certain, as Sir *William* express'd it in another Letter to the Lord Keeper, That the general Opinion conceiv'd in *Holland*, of those two Ministers Honour and Sincerity, and unbiass'd Pursuit of the true Interest of Great Britain, very much contributed to the Success of this Negotiation; and was the Spring of the Credit Sir *William* Temple gain'd in the Conduct of it.

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In the same Letter * Sir *William* acknowledges the Lord Keeper's good Wishes, that he should be Secretary of State, 'Which, *he said*, would be as agreeable to his Inclinations as any thing he knew; but that he should never presume to ask any thing from his Majesty, reserving his Station, and every thing else wholly to his Pleasure and Choice, whilst he had the Honour of serving him. Besides, he found every body in *Holland* and in *Flanders*, design'd another Post for him, at least for a Month or Two that Spring, if the Treaty between *France* and *Spain* happen'd to be at *Aix-la-Chapelle*; believing, that having had so much part in what had been done already, he was likely to have some share in that too: And, he confess'd, he might take the contrary for a Mark of his Majesty's not being satisfy'd with him, in what was past, and because he was before-hand instructed in the Business, and acquainted with Persons, he should be very well pleas'd with it, if his Majesty found none to serve him better; especially if by the Marquis *De Castel-Rodrigo's* going thither himself, his Majesty should think fit to send a Person of great Quality, to maintain the Port of the Employment, and give Sir *William Temple* his Part under his Shade.' The King was too well satisfy'd in Sir *William Temple's* Abilities and late Services, either to employ any other, or to suffer him to act a second Part in the ensuing Treaty; and therefore as soon as the Ratifications of the *Triple Alliance* were exchange'd at the *Hague*, which was done as soon as the Treaty of *Navigation and Commerce* was signed, Sir *William Temple* repair'd to *Brussels* with his former Character of Resident; and from thence was sent to

* Dated February 22, 1668. N. S.

Aix-la-Chapelle, in the Quality of his Majesty's Ambassador Extraordinary.

Sir *William Temple* at his Audience of Leave of the States-General, told them, ' That the King his Majesty having seen so happily finish'd, three several ' Treaties with their High Mightinesses, by which the ' common Security of both Nations was establish'd, ' the Seeds of all new Differences entirely rooted ' out, and the way laid open to the Peace of Christendom, in case their Neighbours proceeded with the ' same good Faith, wherewith his Majesty and their ' High Mightinesses had begun : His Majesty thought ' he had no further Occasion for his Services there, ' because Ministers are only proper for fastning ' and cementing a Confidence and Friendship ; ' whereas theirs was so firmly establish'd, as not ' to require any, even the most ordinary Supports. ' That for this Reason his Majesty had order'd his ' return to *Brussels*, there to pursue, in Concert ' with their High Mightinesses, in favour of their ' Neighbours, what they had here concluded for ' themselves. That his Majesty had commanded ' him to assure their High Mightinesses, that as all ' things are best preserv'd by the same means they ' are begun ; so his Majesty would not fail, for ' ever to observe what he had now concluded, with ' the same Faith, Sincerity, and open Heart, ' wherewith he gave Command they should be ' negotiated. And his Majesty did not in the ' least doubt, that their Lordships were entirely ' resolv'd to proceed after the same manner, which ' was the highest Mark of Confidence to be given ' at present. That for his own particular, he ' could not part from thence, without expressing ' his satisfaction, at the sincere and judicious Proceeding of their High Mightinesses in the whole ' Course of these Negotiations ; particularly in ' the Prudence they had shewn in the Choice of ' those

Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE Bar. 39

‘ those Commissioners they gave him ; their Candor,
‘ Sincerity, great Capacity and Application, having
‘ very much contributed to the quick and happy
‘ conclusion of those Treaties. And as he should
‘ ever bear in mind with Joy and Pleasure, the
‘ short space of time he had pass’d with their High
‘ Mightinesses, in whatever part of the World he
‘ might be ; so he should always contribute, by
‘ his good Wishes, and whatever Services he might
‘ be capable of, to the Support of this good Intelli-
‘ gence, so happily restor’d between both Nations.’
The Pensioner made a fuitable Answer to Sir Wil-
liam Temple’s Speech ; and the States General wrote
* the following Letter to the King of Great
Britain.

S I R,

IT is merely in compliance to Custom, that we do our
selves the Honour to write to your Majesty, in an-
swer to the Letter you were pleas’d to send us, rela-
ting to Sir William Temple : For we can add nothing
to what your Majesty has seen your self of his Conduct,
by the Success of the Negotiation committed to his Charge.
As it is a thing without Example, that in so few Days
three such important Treaties have been concluded, so
we can say, that the Address, Vigilance, and Sincer-
ity of this Minister, are also without Example. We
are extremely oblig’d to your Majesty, that you are
pleas’d to make use of an Instrument so proper for con-
firming that strict Amity, and good Intelligence, which
the Treaty at Breda had so happily began : And we
are bold to say, that if your Majesty continues to make
use of such Ministers, the Knot will grow too fast ever
to be untied ; and your Majesty will ever find a most
particular satisfaction by it, as well as We, who after

* February 18. 1668. N. S.

our most hearty Thanks to your Majesty for this Favour, shall pray God, &c. And remain, SIR, &c.

Four days before, Monsieur *De Wit* wrote to the Earl of *Arlington*, 'That as it was impossible to
' send a Minister of greater Capacity, or more proper for the Temper and Genius of that Nation,
' than Sir *William Temple*; so he believ'd no other
' Person, either would or could, more equitably
' judg of the Disposition, wherein he found the
' States, to answer the good Intentions of the
' King of *Great Britain*. And that Sir *William Temple*
' ought not to be less satisfy'd with the readiness with which the States had pass'd over to
' the concluding and signing of those Treaties for
' which he came there, than their High Mightinesses were with his Conduct, and agreeable manner of Dealing, in the whole Course of his Negotiation.'

The *French* Ambassador at the *Hague* was extreme uneasy, to see a good Correspondence restor'd between the two Maritime Powers, and an entire Confidence settled between Sir *William Temple* and Monsieur *De Wit*: and being apprehensive that *England* labour'd to engage the States in a War against *France*, by delaying the conclusion of the Peace between that Crown and *Spain*; and thereby giving the *French* King a Pretence, and indeed a Provocation to evade his former Promise: He press'd * their High Mightinesses, both to renew their Orders to their Deputies at *Brussels*, to demand a positive Declaration from the Marquis *De Castel-Rodrigo*, upon the Alternative; and to desire Sir *William Temple* to attend him with all speed, for the same purpose. Sir *William*, who needed no Spur in an Affair he wish'd well over, set out from

* See Count D'Estrades Letters, &c. Vol. V. p. 242.

Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE Bar. 41

the *Hague* on the 23d of *February* 1668. N. S. in one of the States Yachts that was to attend him to *Antwerp*; where having met the Marquis, he staid there till the 27th, when he follow'd him to *Brussels*. At his first Audience at *Antwerp*, Sir *William Temple* press'd the Marquis to accept the *Alternative*, and to receive it as the greatest Effect of his *Britannick* Majesty's good Will to the Preservation of *Flanders*, and a step towards a future *Defensive League* between *England*, *Spain*, and *Holland*, for the general Safety of the *Spanish* Dominions: And did so dextrously surmount all his dilatory Excuses, chiefly grounded on the defect of Powers, that at last the Marquis told him, He would comply, provided *France* could be brought to ratify the *Renunciation* in Form, in the Parliament of *Paris*; to content themselves with an *Equivalent* for the conquer'd Towns, which advanced so far into the heart of the Country; and lastly, if, in case of a Refusal from *France*, he might be assur'd beforehand, of the Assistance of *England* and *Holland*, by a common Concert. Sir *William Temple* told him, ' That for the two Points of the *Renunciation* and the *Equivalent*, he might reckon, from the joint Offices of *England* and *Holland*, upon all they could obtain from *France* in favour of *Spain*. For as to the *Equivalent*, their own Interest oblig'd them to it, that they might leave so much a stronger Barrier between *France* and *Holland*. And as for the *RENUNCIATION*, they desir'd it too, but did not conceive it a thing upon which *Spain* ought to be too stiff; since the *GUARANTY* of *England* and *Holland* was the *ONLY STRONG AND SOLID* *Renunciation* that could be made upon this Occasion. As for the Assurance he desir'd, of being assisted in case of a Refusal from *France*, Sir *William* said, he did not doubt the Marquis had heard at least,

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‘ the Substance of their secret Articles to that pur-
 ‘ pose; because the *Spanish* Ambassador at the *Hague*
 ‘ had told him, that a *Jew* of *Amsterdam* had sent
 ‘ him a Copy of them; by which he must needs
 ‘ be well inform’d of their mutual Obligations, as
 ‘ well as of their Intentions, not only to assist *Spain*
 ‘ in case of a Refusal from *France*, but to engage
 ‘ themselves in the Quarrel by an open War,
 ‘ of all their Forces against that Crown.’ After
 much Discourse to this purpose, Sir *William* thought
 fit to read to him the three separate Articles of
 the *Triple Alliance*; to let him know clearly, how
 far he might hope from *England* and *Holland* in the
 Point of the *Renunciation*; and to remove a thought
 which *Don Estevan de Gamarra* had infus’d into the
 Marquis, as coming from Sir *William Temple*, That
 there was something in the Articles, by which it
 should appear, that *England* and *Holland* would not
 force *Spain* in case of a Refusal. The Marquis
 took no offence at the two first Articles, and only
 said, he could not comprehend, why the States be-
 ing newly Enemies to *Portugal*, and having still a
 Controversy with them, should desire so much
 to see them strengthen’d, by a Peace with *Spain*?
 Sir *William* told him, ‘ His Opinion was, that
 ‘ they drove on this Affair, because they believ’d,
 ‘ that without a Peace with *Portugal*, *Spain* could
 ‘ not recover it self enough to make Head against
 ‘ *France*, and reduce the Affairs of *Christendom* to the
 ‘ *BALLANCE* that was necessary.’ The Mar-
 quis was satisfy’d with this Answer, and spoke no
 more of the Business of the *Renunciation*. But up-
 on the *Assistance* promis’d by *England* and *Holland*,
 he said, That the Words of the third Article
 were strong enough, but in too general Terms;
 and that after he should have accepted the *Alter-*
native, *France* might yet, during the next Month
 or *April*, make some Enterprizes upon the Places

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on this side, before the new Levies could be rais'd, and take some of them, if he were not furnish'd with three or four thousand Foot; which might be easily done from *Holland*. Sir *William* told him, That *England* and *Holland* could not concert further with him before he had accepted the *Alternative*, and by that means cast the refusal upon *France*, and by consequence the Force of their Arms, in case of a War, which they would not declare till they were assur'd upon which side the Refusal would lie.' The Marquis, whose Aim was to engage *England* and *Holland* beforehand in the Quarrel, and thereby exasperate *France*, by being threatned more directly; and who well knew, that 'twas the Interest of *Spain* rather to carry on the War, with the Assistance of the two Maritime Powers, than be forc'd to a Peace upon their late Project: The Marquis, I say, was large in arguing to Sir *William Temple*, that the Interest of *England* lay in a joint War, rather than a Peace between the two Crowns; and that his *Britannick* Majesty's End must have been hitherto, only to engage *Holland* with him in the Quarrel: and thereupon the Marquis reason'd from History, and the present Genius of the *English* People and Parliament. Sir *William Temple* endeavour'd to make him easy in that Point, by assuring him, 'That whatever other Kings had thought or done, and whatever the People wish'd or talk'd; the King, in whose sole Disposition all Matters of Peace and War lie, would by no Arts or Considerations be induc'd to break from *Holland*, in the Management of this Business; nor make one step further in the *Spaniards* Defence, than the *Dutch* were willing to join in: That his Interest as well as *Honour* lay in this Resolution, agreed by so many solemn Treaties; and that the *English* as well as the *Dutch* could very well content themselves with a Peace, and pursuit of their Commerce, provided

' they were not alarm'd too much, and too near,
 ' with the Growth of the *French* Greatness.' The
 Marquiss would not be satisfy'd till Sir *William* had
 given an Account of what pass'd in this Confe-
 rence to Monsieur *De Wit*; who thereupon en-
 tirely approv'd Sir *William's* Zeal, Diligence, and
 Conduct, for the Advancement of their Common
 Affair; and communicated to him the Sentiments
 of the States Deputies, ' That it was absolutely ne-
 ' cessary for the Marquiss to declare himself with-
 ' out further Delay or Reserve upon the Alterna-
 ' tive: For since the King of *France* had seen by
 ' his last Conquests, how weak and negligent the
 ' *Spaniards* were, 'twas to be fear'd, that if the
 ' Marquiss should let the Month of *March* expire
 ' without declaring himself, as they desir'd, his
 ' most Christian Majesty might be very glad, after
 ' the Expiration of that Term, not to be oblig'd
 ' by virtue of his Word given, to make the Peace
 ' upon the *Alternative*, but might make use of the
 ' Time, and the Disorder of the *Spaniards*, to sur-
 ' prize *Luxemburgh*, and a great part of what re-
 ' main'd to the King of *Spain* in the *Netherlands*.
 ' And that the States were intirely resolv'd, in
 ' case of refusal, or any Evasions from the King
 ' of *France*, after it had been notify'd to him,
 ' that the Marquiss had accepted either part of the
 ' *Alternative*, to execute in the most vigorous man-
 ' ner, what was contain'd in the first separate Ar-
 ' ticle; and, by consequence, jointly with *England*,
 ' to break into open War against *France*, to act in
 ' concert, not only for Defence of the *Netherlands*,
 ' but also, and above all, to attack and infest *France*
 ' by Sea, by Descents and Invasions into the Coun-
 ' try.' The Deputies of the States to the Governor
 of the *Spanish Netherlands*, being by this time * arri-

* February 24. N. S. 1668.

Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE *Bar.* 45

ved at *Antwerp*, Sir *William Temple* and they had a joint Audience of the Marquiss, wherein they press'd him very much on the *Alternative* and the *Truce*: and he, on the contrary, press'd them to a *Concert*, for the Defence of *Flanders*; and, in the mean time, to make their Preparations for War. Sir *William Temple* told him, 'What Preparations the King of *Great Britain* and the States General had already made; but desired him to let them know, by his declaring himself upon the *Alternative*, against which of the two Parties, the *French* or the *Spaniards*, such Preparations must be employ'd?' And thereupon deliver'd to him a Memorial to the same Effect with what they had told him, viz. 'How glorious it would be to him, how advantageous to the common Ends of Peace, and how necessary for preserving to *Spain* the remainder of *Flanders*, that by virtue of his Powers his Excellency would make the first steps in this great Affair, by consenting readily to the *Alternative* and *Truce*, and to the dispatching of Plenipotentiaries to *Aix-la-Chapelle*'. The Marquiss *De Castel-Rodrigo*, seeing himself so closely press'd, did, the next * Day in the Evening, declare, that he accepted the *Truce* to the shorter Time, viz. the last Day of *March*, offer'd by *France*, in order to be extended to the last Day of *May*, (propo'd by the King of *England* and the States General) and further, if it were thought necessary. Which Answer Sir *William Temple* and the States Deputies dispatch'd the 27th of *Febr.* N. S. in the Morning, to Monsieur *Van Beuningen* the States Ambassador Extraordinary, and Sir *John Trevor* Envoy Extraordinary of the King of *Great Britain*, at *Paris*.

About a Week after Sir *Will. Temple* and the *Dutch Deputies* at *Brussels*, being apprehensive that some

* February 26. N. S.

Scruple might have been rais'd at the *French Court*, for want of Notice given in due Form of the Marquis's Acceptation of the Truce; they dispatch'd thither * a second Express with an authentick Act; whereby the Marquis authoriz'd his *Britannick Majesty's* and the States Ministers at *Paris*, to make the said Notification, and thereupon to regulate the Truce on that side. Moreover, to the end that no Objection might be made by *France* against the Conclusion of this Truce, in order to an ensuing Treaty of Peace, Sir *William Temple* and the *Dutch* Deputies sent, at the same time, to the *English* and *Dutch* Ministers at *Paris*, the Answer which the Marquis *De Castel-Rodrigo* return'd to them the Day before; whereby he also declar'd his Acceptation of the *Alternative*. *This is so full and so direct to the Ends of our late Treaty, (said Sir William in his Letter to Sir John Trevor) that we have now nothing left to do on this side, the remainder of the whole Negotiation lying on your part at Paris, which we are here very much pleas'd with, seeing it is devolv'd to so much abler Hands. I hope you will place the whole Strength of his Majesty's and the States General's Credit in that Court, upon an immediate Consent to the Suspension of Arms, knowing how dangerous all new Accidents may prove, to the fair Hopes and Prospect, in which we are at present of a Peace; and withal, how far his Majesty and the States are engag'd to take part in any Action that shall begin, after the Marquis's accepting the Alternative, as well as all other Points of their late Projects for bringing about so happy an End. For a good Presage of a greater Peace, we receiv'd here the News of that of Portugal, the very Evening which brought us so happily the Marquis's Answer upon the Alternative; which has so much rais'd the Hearts of the Spaniards here, that*

* March 5. N. S.

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we are likely to have less Thanks for pressing them so far to a prejudicial Peace, as they esteem it on this side. But since they are already engag'd, it will depend wholly upon France to hinder the Conclusion of this in the same Season with the other; which I will believe them too wise to do, as well as too constant to the Assurances they have already given his Majesty, the States, and several other Princes in this Point; of which the immediate consenting to a Suspension of Arms, will shew the Meaning and Effect.

Nor were these Hints, Informations and Surmizes of Sir William Temple to Sir John Trevor, either useless or preposterous: For by this time the King of France being return'd from his Expedition into *Franche-Comté*, after having made an entire Conquest of that Province in a Fortnight, in the most rigorous Season of the Year; his Ministers flush'd with his Successes, began to alter their Language, openly express'd their Resentment of the Measures lately concerted between *England* and *Holland*; and talk'd, as if the taking their Master at his Word, by insisting on his former Promise, were prescribing him Laws. This plainly appears from several Letters of Monsieur *De Lionne*, Secretary of State to the French King, to Count *D'Estrades*: I can tell beforehand, says he in * one of them, that I don't believe the King to be of a Temper to suffer himself to be shav'd against the Grain, by any body. In another Letter M. *De Lionne* pretends, That the King, his Master, was entirely disengag'd of his Offer (of a Truce) by the Marquis *De Castel-Rodrigo's* Refusal to accept it. He adds, That he had told Monsieur *Van Beuningen*, in the first Conference he had with

* The French runs thus: Je puis dire par avance, que je ne crois pas que le Roi soit d'Humeur à se laisser faire la barbe à contrepoil, par qui que ce soit, &c. See Count *D'Estrades's* Letters and Memoirs, Vol. V. p. 247. & seq.

him,

him, That the Peace would infallibly have been made upon either of the Alternatives, if the League of the Hague had not been concluded: But that League having given a Prospect to the World, which might induce People to think, that whatever the King would have done of his own Motion, and to gain the Glory of MODERATION, which now was the only thing he wanted, would at present be the Effect of Compulsion for fear of the League: This appear'd to him (*Monsieur De Lionne*) of so hard Digestion for a Prince of the King's Temper, who prefer'd his Reputation before any other Consideration, that he knew not what to say to it. That indeed, he could not sufficiently admire, considering the Prudence of those who manag'd this Negotiation, that they did not, as it were, bury, in the secret Articles, not only the Third of them, but also whatever might look like imperiously prescribing Law to the King, or what Conduct he ought to follow. Moreover, *Monsieur Van Beuningen* and *Sir John Trevor*, having on the Third of March N. S. notify'd, in a Memorial to the French King, the *Marquiss De Castel-Rodrigo's* Acceptation of the Truce; and desir'd his most Christian Majesty to give his Orders for the Execution of his Promise, in relation to the Security of the strong Towns in *Flanders*, till the last day of March; they receiv'd two long Answers from the King, and a Letter from *Monsieur De Lionne*, importing, in substance, ' That the ' Motive that induc'd the King, six Months before, ' to grant that Suspension, was only to make way ' for an Accommodation during the Winter, whilst ' things remain'd in the same Condition on both ' sides: all new Accidents in War generally occasioning Alterations in a Treaty of Peace. That ' the *Marquiss De Castel-Rodrigo*, by affected Delays ' and Difficulties, had refus'd that Offer, and unprofitably consum'd that precious time, of six ' Months, about the bare Preliminary Point of ' agreeing

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' agreeing to a Place of Treaty ; the *Spaniards*
 ' pretending, contrary to all Custom, and even to
 ' the Prejudice of the forwarding of the Peace, to
 ' carry the Negotiation of it to very remote Pla-
 ' ces, out of the sight of the Potentates and Prin-
 ' ces who were most concern'd in it. That the
 ' Ministers of *Spain*, accordingly, who serv'd their
 ' Master in different Places, had shewn such pre-
 ' posterous Contradiction one to another in this
 ' Point, that to this very day, neither his Majesty,
 ' nor the Kings and Princes Mediators, nor indeed
 ' any body knew yet their true Intentions. That
 ' the Marquiss *De Castel-Rodrigo's* chusing *Aix-la-*
 ' *Chapelle* for the Place of Treaty, was disapprov'd
 ' both by the Queen Regent of *Spain*, and by the
 ' Pope's Nuncio, whom alone she had acknowledg'd
 ' as Mediator. That Cardinal *Visconti*, the Nuncio
 ' at *Madrid*, had by Letter assur'd the Abbot *Vibo*,
 ' (then at *Paris*) that the *Spaniards* would treat no
 ' where but at *Rome* ; and that the Council at *Ma-*
 ' *drid* made great Complaints of the Marquiss's
 ' false steps in this Affair. That tho the remain-
 ' ing part of the Month of *March* be not sufficient
 ' to make the least Progress in the Negotiation of
 ' Peace, the Place of Assembly not being yet well
 ' settled, and the Plenipotentiaries that were to
 ' repair thither not yet in their way, by reason of
 ' the *Spaniards* delaying to grant a Passport for
 ' Monsieur *Colbert* ; and tho on the other hand, it
 ' was easy to judg, that the Instances now made to
 ' his (most Christian) Majesty, to grant the said
 ' Suspension, were rather in order to secure all
 ' the Places of the Monarchy of *Spain*, than, as
 ' the *British* and *Dutch* Ministers said in the close
 ' of their Memorial, to get from his Majesty a Proof
 ' of his sincere Intentions for an Accommodation : Yet,
 ' out of Complaisance for his *Britannick* Majesty and
 ' the States-General, he would forbid all the Com-
 ' manders

H

' manders of his Forces, either to attack or sur-
 ' prize any fortify'd Place of the *Spaniards* till the
 ' last day of *March*. But as in case the said
 ' Marquiss should grant a Passport for the *Sieur Col-*
 ' *bert*, to repair to *Aix*, it were unpleasing if he
 ' should go thither to no purpose; the King de-
 ' sired to be forthwith satisfy'd by Mr. *Van*
 ' *Beuningen* and Sir *John Trevor*, from Sir *William*
 ' *Temple* and the *Dutch* Deputies, whether the Mar-
 ' quiss *De Castel-Rodrigo's* Full-Powers were in due
 ' Form, and such as one might treat with him
 ' with Safety and Honour; and particularly, whe-
 ' ther he was empower'd to treat by a Deputy.
 ' And that his Majesty being willing *inviolably* to
 ' perform his *Royal Word*, he declar'd again, that
 ' notwithstanding the entire Conquest of *Franche-*
 ' *Compté*, he would still be satisfy'd with either of
 ' the *Alternatives*, provided the same were accepted
 ' before the end of *March*; not in general and
 ' captious Terms, as the Marquiss had done already,
 ' but clearly and without any Ambiguity.' These
 Answers and Letter were immediately transmitted
 to Count *D'Estrades*, with Orders to send Copies
 of them to five several Ministers of the *French*
 King, to be communicated to the respective Kings
 and Princes near whom they resided; to serve, as
 it were, for a *Manifesto*. And, indeed, notwith-
 standing the Promise contain'd in those Answers,
 the *French*, at this very time, besieg'd, and in few
 days, made themselves Masters of *Genap*.

From all these Passages, ' It seem'd plain to * Sir
 ' *William Temple*, that *France* desired to pursue the
 ' War, but fear'd *England* engaging in it; and to
 ' hinder that, would use all the Address that
 ' could be, to lay the Obstruction of Peace upon
 ' the *Spaniards*: That the latter, on the other side,

* See his Letters, Vol. I. p. 311. & seq.

‘ desir’d to continue the War, provided they might
 ‘ be sure of the Assistance of *England* and *Holland* :
 ‘ And that, to that end, if they play’d their Game
 ‘ well, they would be sure to retort the Address
 ‘ of *France* upon them, and lay the Blame of the
 ‘ War at their doors; without which they had
 ‘ no Hopes of *Holland*’s falling into their Party :
 ‘ who whether they were partial to the *French* or
 ‘ no in the Quarrel, were certainly partial to the
 ‘ Peace, and would not be drawn to share in the
 ‘ War, but upon the last Necessity.’ Therefore
 Sir *William* judg’d very right, that his Business was
 at present, to induce the Marquiss to clear the two
 Scruples made by the *French*, upon the Validity
 of his Powers, and the Choice of one or other of
 the *Alternatives*; which, however, could not be
 easily brought about, considering the repeated As-
 surances the Marquiss had receiv’d, that Don *Juan*
 was upon his Departure from *Madrid*, with a Sup-
 ply of eight or ten thousand native *Spaniards*, and
 three Millions of Crowns in Silver-Bars, or Bills
 of Exchange.

Before Sir *William* had an Audience of the *Spanish*
 Governor upon those Points, he answer’d Sir *John*
Trevor’s last Dispatches as follows: ‘ The *French*
 ‘ King’s Answer is full and fair, in my Apprehen-
 ‘ sion; what it will appear in the *Marquiss*’s, I know
 ‘ not: for since that Court cavils at his Accepta-
 ‘ tion of the *Alternative*, and calls it *captious*, I
 ‘ know not whether he may not have his Revenge
 ‘ at theirs. Monsieur *Lionne*’s Letter, I confess,
 ‘ looks of a very different Stile from his Master’s,
 ‘ and, in my Judgment, artificial: Nor do I un-
 ‘ derstand great Ministers reasoning upon the In-
 ‘ tentions of Crowns, rather from common Re-
 ‘ port, from Passages of private Men’s Letters, or
 ‘ of Books made for Argument; than from the
 ‘ open and positive Declarations of Ministers, who

ought to know their Powers best, and how to
 use 'em: Besides, they give the *Spaniards* very fair
 Play against them in this kind of War, in an
 Action I am very much unsatisfy'd in; which is,
 beginning and continuing the Siege of *Genap*,
 about four Leagues from hence (*Brussels*) now
 the eighth Day after the Agreement granted by
France for the Suspension of Arms, notwithstanding
 our signification of it to the Commander of
 their Troops: Besides the seizing of another
 Castle five Days after the said Agreement, tho the
 Courier came in two Days from *Paris*, and the
 same haste might as easily have been made upon
 the other Errand. In short, if *France* pretends
 to be believ'd here, they must give *Deeds* as well
 as *Words*; and will shew the Sincerity of their
 Intentions for Peace, by consenting to the Truce
 to the end of *May*, accepted already here; since
 if there should be any Defect in the Marquis's Pow-
 ers, it may easily be supply'd with a little Time,
 and any Delay in the Choice of the *Alternative*
 repair'd. In the mean while, I will hope by the
 next Courier, to give you satisfaction in those
 Points; for I neither know why the Marquis
 should be difficult in making his Choice upon the
Alternative, or exposing the material Clauses of
 his Powers, which I will assure you, are as full,
 in my apprehension, as can be granted. This
 Courier goes to you with a Duplicate of Mon-
 sieur *Colbert*'s Pass, (which was sent some time
 since to the *Internuncio* at *Aix*) with the Orders
 sent out for the Suspension of Arms, and with
 the Marquis's naming a Day for the Baron *De*
Bergeyk's coming to *Aix*, in case Monsieur *Colbert*
 can be ready in that time: Tho I do not see how
 the Treaty can begin, till his Majesty's and the
 States Ministers can be there, as well as the two
 Principals; and in that regard, as well as many
 others,

others, it will be absolutely necessary to obtain
 ' *France's* Consent to the Truce, if they would
 ' have us believe they intend the Peace; and in
 ' the mean time, to procure Orders for the Sus-
 ' pension of Arms before *Genap*, and all other
 ' Places.'

Two days after, (*March* 15. N. S.) at an Audience Sir *William Temple* had, jointly with the *Dutch* Deputies, of the Marquiss; the latter, after some difficulty, was content to declare his Choice of the *Alternative*, which was to leave *France* their Conquests of last Campaign; and likewise, to promise the *English* and *Dutch* Ministers a Transcription of the most material Clauses in his Powers: both which they transmitted to Sir *John Trevor* and Monsieur *Van Beuningen* at *Paris*, to enable them to remove that Court's last Objections. The Marquiss took that occasion to make just Complaints of the *French* breaking the Suspension, by the Attempt upon *Genap*, which was yielded to them the Day before, upon Conditions; and insisted, that the King of *England* and the *States* should oblige *France* to restore that Place, within the time of the Suspension: which Sir *William* thought a very reasonable Demand. On the other hand, the Marquiss seem'd to apprehend, that the Effects of *England* and the *States* having obtain'd from him, all that *France* could demand in pursuit of their former Proposals, or the *English* and *Dutch* in pursuit of the *Hague* Treaty, would be a sudden throwing off the Mask on the *French* side; and making what Advances they could in the War, before *England* and *Holland* were in a Condition to enter upon Defence of *Flanders*: And therefore press'd their Arming, and concerting how to proceed in such a Case. Hereupon it was Sir *William Temple's* Opinion *, that the King should encou-

* See his Letters, Vol. I. p. 320. & seq.

rage *Holland* that was so near, and already arm'd, to furnish the *Spaniards* with three or four thousand Foot, for the Defence of their Towns, upon the first Motion of the *French* to attack any of them; with Assurance, that his Majesty would fall into the same Course with all possible Speed and Vigour. This Thought, Sir *William* communicated, by Letter, to the Earl of *Arlington*; adding, 'That if he (Sir *William*) knew how far he might engage his Majesty to arm in Defence of the *Spanish Netherlands*, since *Spain* had accepted all that *England* and *Holland* propos'd in their Treaty, he would endeavour to induce the Marquiss to conclude a Treaty to that purpose, and for furnishing his Majesty thereupon with certain Sums, at certain times, thereby to make the Debt, at least from *Spain*, a certain thing whenever the Money could be found: Hoping to receive some Light from his Lordship upon this, in Answer to a former Letter of his (Sir *William's*) and in the mean while, would prepare the matter with the Marquiss.'

To this purpose we must observe, that the King having, on the 10th of *February* 1667. O. S. met his Parliament, his Majesty acquainted them with the *League* he had lately enter'd into for an efficacious Mediation of Peace between the two Crowns; and told them, That the Posture of his Neighbours abroad, and the Consequences of this new Alliance would oblige him to set out a considerable Fleet to Sea, and to fortify some of his Ports. But tho the Parliament, and indeed the whole Nation, (the Papists only excepted) were, as was hinted before, extremely well pleas'd with these new Counsels; yet the Commons did not think fit to grant the King any Supplies, before they had enquir'd into former Mismanagements; particularly, who were the Advisers of the last *Dutch War*. The Earl of
Arlington

Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE *Bar.* 55

Arlington having given *Sir William Temple* an account of Affairs in *England*, *Sir William* wrote * to him thereupon, ' He was sorry his Majesty should meet
 ' with any thing he did not look for at the opening of this Session; but confess'd, he did not see
 ' why his Majesty should *not only consent, but encourage* any Inquiries or Disquisitions they desired
 ' to make into the Miscarriages of the late War,
 ' as well as he had done already in the matter of
 ' Accounts: For, if it be not necessary, it is a
 ' *King's Ease and Happiness to content his People.*
 ' That he doubted, as Men will never part willingly with their Money, unless they be well persuaded it will be employ'd directly to those Ends
 ' for which they gave it; so they will never be
 ' satisfy'd with a Government, unless they see Men
 ' are *chosen* into Offices and Employments, by being fit for them; *continued* for discharging them
 ' well, *rewarded* for extraordinary Merit, and
 ' *punish'd* for remarkable Faults. That besides, in
 ' these cases his Majesty discharg'd the Hardship
 ' and Severity of all Punishments upon the Parliament, and committed no Force upon the Gentleness of his own Nature, while his Subjects saw,
 ' that no *Tenderness of their Prince, nor Corruption of Ministers, could preserve them long from paying*
 ' *what they owe to any Forfeits of their Duty.* Nor,
 ' indeed, could any Prince do Justice to those that
 ' serve him well, without punishing those that
 ' serve him ill; since that is to make their *Conditions equal, whose Deserts are different.*' Political
 ' Maxims, which, if rightly practis'd, would never fail to make both Prince and People happy! I
 ' should not, added *Sir William Temple*, by way of Caution, *say this to any Person but your Lordship, to whom I know part of that Justice is due. But to say*

* March 2. N. S. See his *Letters*, Vol. I. p. 303.

Truth,

Truth, the Progress and End of the last War, went so much to my Heart, and I have heard so much lately from Monsieur De Wit, concerning the Carriage of it on our side; especially what fell under his Eye, while he was abroad in the Fleet; that I cannot but think the Parliament may be excus'd for their Warmth in this Pursuit. But your Lordship can best discern by the Course of Debates, whether this proceeds from a steady Intention upon a general Good, or from some accidental Distempers, from which the greatest and best Assemblies of Men are not always free; especially when they have continu'd long together. The Earl of Arlington, whose Judgment and Principles were not yet debauch'd and corrupted by the Artifices and Mony of France, and who, before Sir William set out for Holland, express'd to him his Sense of the absolute Necessity there was, for his Majesty to fall into a perfect Intelligence with his Parliament; especially being engag'd into an appearance of Action abroad, by the Force of this present Conjuncture: The Earl, I say, took well, and improv'd Sir William's Advice; which had that good effect, that the Commons, not long after, voted an Aid of Three Hundred and ten Thousand Pounds. But the Supplies the Court expected from the Parliament, not being like to bear a proportion with the King's Necessities, in case he were oblig'd to engage in the War, the Earl of Arlington directed Sir William Temple to use his Endeavours to get Subsidies from Spain. Sir William omitted no Instances upon that Subject; but the Marquis De Castel-Rodrigo's Coffers being then at a low Ebb, he enter'd into a Negotiation, by his Minister at the Hague, Don Estevan De Gamarra, for the Loan of two or three Millions of Guilders, on the Security of several Towns and Forts in Gelderland and Flanders; with a Resolution, however, not to part with any Mony to the English, or to conclude with the Dutch, if a Peace

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Peace were like to ensue: since the mortgaging those Places to the *Dutch*, and, at the same time, yielding so many others to the *French*, would leave the *Spaniards* hardly any thing worth their keeping in the *Netherlands*. On the other hand, the Earl of *Arlington*, by the King's special Command, recommended to Sir *William Temple* the Business of the *Flag*, as a thing which his Majesty had extremely at heart. To this, Sir *William* answer'd, * 'That he was sufficiently warn'd upon that Point; and he hop'd his Majesty's Constancy therein proceeded from a Resolution to take those Courses and Counsels, which might make him as much fear'd abroad, as any of his Ancestors were, in whose time that Point was first gain'd: For without that, the Pretensions of *England* would grow *vain* at present, and in time *obsolete*. That in the mean while, he hop'd some Expedient would be foreseen, that might prevent the Inconveniencies or Unkindnesses that might happen between the *English* and *Dutch* upon this Point, in the present Conjunction; and in case of Necessity, to join their Fleets.'

Upon the pressing Instances of Monsieur *Van Beuningen* and Sir *John Trevor*, for a Prolongation of the Truce till the last Day of *May*, Monsieur *De Lionne*, on the 19th of *March* N. S. acquainted them, 'That his most Christian Majesty, to evidence his sincere Intentions for Peace, would still content himself with either of the *Alternatives* till the 15th of *May* inclusive; upon condition, that the Treaty that was to be made thereupon, between him and the *Spaniards*, were signed, ratify'd, and the Ratifications exchange'd before

* See his Letters, Vol. I. p. 382.

‘ the 16th of *May*. 2dly, That to shew the Sincerity of this Declaration, his most Christian Majesty was ready to make a Treaty thereupon with the King of *England* and the *States-General*. And, 3dly, That the most Christian King would restore, *bonâ fide*, to the King of *Spain*, all the Places and Posts that might have been possess’d by his Forces, from the last Day of *March* to the 15th of *May*.’

This Letter occasion’d * an Interview between Monsieur *De Lionne* and the *English* and *Dutch* Ministers; wherein Monsieur *Van Beuningen* stiffly insisted on the Continuation of the Truce to the last Day of *May*; urging, that the *States* were under an Engagement about it with the King of *Great Britain*: But Monsieur *De Lionne* was as peremptory, that the most Christian King’s Answer was so favourable, that they must not expect any other. The Legation of the Electors and Princes of the Empire, assembled at *Cologne*, having back’d the Instances of the *English* and *Dutch* Ministers, for the prolongation of the Truce, receiv’d an Answer to the same purpose, with Exceptions to the Marquis *De Castel-Rodrigo*’s way of Proceeding, in accepting the *Alternative*, and his Choice of the Place of Treaty; and Insinuations, as if he had no other Design but to gain time, till the arrival of the Supplies from *Spain*.

Upon Advice of what pass’d at *Paris*, Sir *William Temple*, who with admirable Penetration unravell’d the crafty Mazes and ambitious Turnings of *France*, wrote † to Monsieur *De Wit*, ‘ That in his Opinion the War seem’d inevitable; and that all the Shews *France* had made of desiring a Peace, were

* See Count D’Estrades Letters, Vol. V. p. 291, &c.

† See his Letters, Vol. I. p. 339.

level'd at no other Mark, but to slacken the Resolutions of the Allies from assisting *Flanders*; or, at least, to gain six Weeks time to enlarge their Conquests, before the *Spaniards* could either receive the Recruits they expected, or the Assistance of their Neighbours, for defending their most considerable Places'. As to what the French propos'd, added Sir William, of restoring all that they shall conquer between the end of this Month and the 15th of May, it seems to me to be too gross, and to discover a Contempt of our Wit, as well as of our Treaty. For if all our Offices and Offers, to make Spain ratify what the Marquis has accepted, are not sufficient to make France forbear attempting new Conquests; which, by the way, are the only they offer to restore: how can we flatter our selves, that we shall obtain an entire Restitution? I do not see how their manner of Chicaning, and making Exceptions to the absolute Powers of a Minister, upon no other ground, than particular Intelligence they pretend to have from Madrid; nor the formal Objections they make against the Delegation of the Baron De Bergeyck, when at the same time they send Monsieur Colbert to Aix-la-Chapelle: how, I say, all this can admit better Interpretation, with relation to their Intentions for Peace. For in whatever comes from those Ministers (the French) I think one may discover an unruly Ambition under a studied Affectation and Disguise, that argues Insincerity; God only knows the bottom on't. For my part, I will tell you in Confidence, and with my usual Frankness, my Opinion of all this, which is this: That by all our Negotiations, tho never so well manag'd; by all our Courtship and Caresses; and by all our repeated good Offices, we shall never obtain a Peace from France, while they have any promising Prospect; and judg it either to be their Interest, or conducing to their Glory, to carry on the War: And therefore, that the only way of disposing them to a Peace, is to order it so, that they may

find their Interests in it. This, methinks, we can no otherwise do, but by shewing them the Strength of our Forces, and our firm Resolution for War, before it begins: For since we only draw a War on our selves, by desiring a Peace too eagerly, we must, on the contrary, endeavour to draw on the Peace, by making all possible Shews of desiring a War. Therefore, I think, what remains to be done, is, to hasten our Preparations by Sea and Land, and let the most Christian King know, by our Ministers, That since his Majesty still appears dispos'd to be satisfy'd with the Alternative already accepted by the Marquiss De Castel-Rodrigo; and that the only Difficulty now lies on the Powers of the said Marquiss, and the Sincerity of the Court of Spain's Intentions: We therefore desire his Majesty to give us so much time, by a Suspension of Arms, as may be sufficient to send a Dispatch to Madrid, and return to Paris with a full and plain Answer from the Queen of Spain upon the Alternative. But, at the same time, to add, if his Majesty refuses us a Demand so necessary to the Peace of Christendom, and will still, without regard either to the Offers of Spain, or the Offices of the Allies, carry his Arms farther; That upon the first Motion he shall make, to attack the rest of the Netherlands, we shall cause our Forces to march to defend them, and endeavour to give him a powerful Diversion both by Sea and Land.

In the close of this Letter, Sir William assur'd Monsieur De Wit, ' That all the Spaniards of any
' Consideration desir'd the Peace: That the Mar-
' quiss had full Powers to conclude it, as he should
' think fit: That all the Delays of Don Juan seem'd
' only to proceed from the hopes they had at Ma-
' drid, of a Peace upon the Project of the Triple
' Alliance: And that he (Sir William) was glad the
' States had sent Monsieur Van Beverning to be at
' Aix, with the Ministers of both Crowns; not
' doubting but his Britannick Majesty would do the
same,

' same, when he had receiv'd Advice of their De-
 ' parture.' Monsieur *De Wit* and the States-Ge-
 ' neral, were entirely of the same Opinion with
 ' Sir William Temple, and gave Orders to Monsieur
 ' *Van Beuningen* to insist on the Prolongation of the
 ' Truce. At the same time Monsieur *D'Estrades* ac-
 ' quainted * Monsieur *De Lionne*, ' That the Fer-
 ' ment in *Holland* was grown to that height, that
 ' the Provinces of *Utrecht*, *Groningen*, *Guelder* and
 ' *Overyssel*, were for giving immediate Assistance
 ' to the *Spaniards*, since the King refus'd to grant
 ' the Suspension of Arms till the end of *May*:
 ' That the Provinces of *Holland* and *Zealand*, were
 ' indeed of another Opinion, viz. to desire the
 ' King to grant only so much time as was neces-
 ' sary from the signing, till the Exchange of the
 ' Ratifications; but that there was no other talk
 ' than of Leagues and strict Alliances between *Spain*,
 ' *England*, *Sweden*, and the *States*: That the warm-
 ' est for the War were the greatest Enemies of
 ' Monsieur *De Wit*, and the best Friends of the
 ' House of *Orange*: Which confirm'd Monsieur *De*
 ' *Wit*, in the Information Monsieur *De Lionne* had
 ' given him; That Monsieur *De Wit* was extremely
 ' puzzled, and might be oblig'd by the Course of
 ' Affairs, to strike in with the opposite Party, who
 ' had made him Overtures towards an Accommoda-
 ' tion: That there never had been so much Con-
 ' fusion as appear'd to be among the States; who
 ' in two Days time, had chang'd their Resolutions
 ' about the Rendezvous of their Troops: That
 ' their High-Mightinesses had sent him a Depu-
 ' tation, to represent to him, how much they were
 ' griev'd to see the King averse to the Thoughts
 ' of Peace, and bent upon the Conquest of the
 ' Low-Countries, at a time when *Castel-Rodrigo* sub-

* See Count *D'Estrades Letters*, &c. Vol. V. p. 305, &c.

' mitted

'mitted to the Conditions that were impos'd
 'upon him: That the *Spanish* Ambassador had
 'given the Deputies of the Provinces Assurances,
 'both that the Marquiss would sign all that the
 'States should think fit; and that the Queen of
 'Spain would ratify all the Contents of the Treaty:
 'but had desir'd them at the same time, not to
 'abandon them at this Juncture, when *France* had
 'form'd a Design to surprize and oppress them.
 'That if the Intentions of *France* were sincere,
 'they would not break a Treaty, when no more
 'time was demanded than was necessary for a
 'Courier to bring the Ratification: And that, up-
 'on the whole matter, they hop'd from the King's
 'Generosity, that he would be pleas'd to grant
 'them that Suspension, without which no hopes
 'of Peace could be entertain'd; but on the con-
 'trary, a dismal expectation of a Fire breaking
 'out in all Christendom, which might not be ex-
 'tinguish'd in many Years. That he told them,
 'the King's Answer to the Electors of the Empire
 'contain'd sufficient Reasons for his Majesty's not
 'granting the Suspension they demanded; and that
 'the *Spaniards* had nothing in view, but to en-
 'gage the States in a Rupture with *France*, and
 'to leave to them afterwards the Charge and Ex-
 'pence of a tedious War; with the Remorse of
 'having abandon'd the Alliance of a King, to whom
 'they had so great Obligations. That they ap-
 'pear'd somewhat satisfy'd with this, but that
 'Monsieur *Van Beuningen* having caution'd them to
 'be upon their Guard, they took their Measures
 'accordingly, and expected some Troops from *Lu-*
 '*nenburgh*. That in short, the King must expect
 'a sudden Declaration of the States against *France*,
 'but that the Allies not being in a Condition to
 'take the Field in two Months, his (most Chri-
 'stian) Majesty would have sufficient time to bring
 'about

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about any great Enterprize. That Monsieur De Wit would have much ado to support his Interest, tho the Cabals that were against him, which in all appearance would prevail, would be oblig'd to make use of him for some time: And that the Dutch Ambassador in London assur'd the States, that the King of England was sensible, that his most Christian Majesty's Exceptions to the Conduct of the Spaniards, were but a Pretence to avoid a Conclusion of the Peace; and therefore his Brittannick Majesty persisted in his Resolution, to pursue all the Engagements he had enter'd into by the Hague Treaty: Which shew'd, that England and Holland had resolv'd, and agreed upon a Rupture against France.' However the Count D'Estrades might be mistaken, as to the part Monsieur De Wit acted in this Affair, 'tis certain he was rightly inform'd as to the States fix'd Resolution, effectually to assist the Spaniards, not only with Men, but likewise with Mony: For which purpose, on the 9th of April 1668. N. S. seven of their Deputies concluded and signed a Treaty with Don Estevan de Gamarra, whereby their High Mightinesses engag'd themselves to procure to the King of Spain a Loan of two Millions of Guilders, at Five per Cent. Interest, on the Security of the Towns, Castles, and Forts of Argenteau, Novaigne, Stevenswaert, Venlo, Guelder, Isabella, and St. Donaes: Which were to be deliver'd into the hands of their High Mightinesses ten days after the signing, in case the Treaty between the Crowns of France and Spain, upon the Alternative accepted by the Marquis De Castel-Rodrigo, should break off. But by a separate Article it was provided, ' That the States should not be oblig'd to furnish the Sums stipulated by this Treaty, until the said Marquis had either signed the Agreement lately drawn up by the French King's Deputies, in concert with
' Mon-

‘ Monsieur *Van Beuningen* and Sir *John Trevor*; or
 ‘ send Powers to those two Ministers to perfect and
 ‘ conclude the said Treaty in his name.’

To this purpose it must be observ’d, that the
English and *Dutch* Ministers at *Paris* having, on the
 28th of *March* N. S. in a Conference with the *French*
 Commissioners, Messieurs *Le Tellier*, *De Lionne*, and
Colbert, insisted on a peremptory Declaration on
 the part of *France*, about the Truce, to the last
 Day of *May*; the *French* Ministers bethought
 themselves of a last Shift; and, the next Morning,
 return’d an Answer, * ‘ That the King could not
 ‘ explain himself as to that Demand, before he
 ‘ knew the King of *Great Britain*’s and the States-
 ‘ General’s Pretensions as to the manner of their
 ‘ acting jointly (with his most Christian Majesty)
 ‘ on the first day of *June*, both in relation to *War*,
 ‘ and the Conditions of *Peace*; which ought to be
 ‘ different from the two Alternatives already pro-
 ‘ pos’d by *France*, if the *Spaniards* should refuse to
 ‘ consent to the Peace within that time.’ Sir *John*
Trevor and Monsieur *Van Beuningen* replying, They
 had no Instruction on those two Points, but if they
 knew his most Christian Majesty’s Thoughts and
 Desires thereupon, they would immediately dispatch
 Expresses, to acquaint their respective Masters
 therewith; the *French* Commissioners told them,
 ‘ That in case the Peace were not concluded, and
 ‘ the Ratifications exchange’d on the last Day of *May*,
 ‘ his (most Christian) Majesty intended to act then
 ‘ with all his Forces, as he should think fit, with-
 ‘ out having any *Necessity impos’d upon him*; which
 ‘ was the thing he was so much displeas’d with
 ‘ in the *Hague* Treaty; and that the *English* and
 ‘ *Dutch* should act with thirty Thousand Men, or
 ‘ such a number of Forces as should be agreed on,

* See Count D’Estrades Letters, Vol. V. p. 310. & seq.

in order to oblige *Spain* to make a Peace. That as to the Conditions of the said Peace, his Majesty being no longer bound by the Terms of the two present *Alternatives*, he would however bind himself, by a Treaty with *England* and *Holland*, to two other *Alternatives*; provided the two Maritime Powers should, at the same time, be Guarantees to him for the Acceptation, within the Months of *June* and *July*, of one of these two Alternatives, viz. That either to the Cession of the Conquests made in the last Summer's Campaign, *Spain* should add and yield up the *Franche-Compté*, *Cambray*, and the *Cambresis*; or else, to the Cession of the other Equivalent, add that of *Luxemburgh*, or *Lille* and *Tournay* instead thereof.' The *English* and *Dutch* Ministers, who were somewhat startled at this new Overture, and whose main Business was to obtain the Prolongation of the Truce to the last day of *May*, made no great Objection to the two new *Alternatives*; and only insisted on a positive Declaration on the part of *France*, 'That in case the King of *England* and the States General should guaranty the two new Alternatives for the Months of *June* and *July*, his most Christian Majesty should grant a Suspension of Arms till the last day of *May*, and within that time be contented with either of the *Alternatives* formerly offer'd.' The *French* Commissioners declin'd making a direct Answer to this Demand, till the most Christian King was acquainted with the King of *England*'s and the States-General's Intentions about the two new Alternatives; but, lest the same should be look'd upon as a mere Tergiversation and Amusement, the Marquis *De Ruigny*, the *French* Ambassador then in *London*, and the Count *D'Estrades*, were directed to acquaint his *Britannick* Majesty and the States, 'That his most Christian Majesty was willing to grant the Truce till the last Day of *May*,

‘ tho it was not thought fit to declare the same
 ‘ to their Ministers at *Paris*, lest the King should
 ‘ thereby run the Hazard of notably weakning his
 ‘ Troops, by the Opinion all Military Men might
 ‘ entertain, that the Peace was already made.’
 Whatever the *French* Court meant by this Management, in the same Conference of the 29th of *March* 1668, N. S. their Commissioners communicated to the *English* and *Dutch* Ministers a Project, drawn up by Monsieur *De Lionne*, of a Treaty of Guaranty, for procuring a Peace between *France* and *Spain*, upon the Terms before-mention’d ; that is, upon either of the two former *Alternatives*, within the last day of *May* inclusive ; or upon either of the two new *Alternatives*, within the Months of *June* or *July*. Sir *John Trevor* and Monsieur *Van Beuningen* excepted only against some Expressions, which the *French* Commissioners consented to alter: and the King of *England* having readily, and the States-General with some * difficulty, approv’d the said Project, the Treaty was signed at *St. Germain en Leye*, on the 15th of *April* 1668. N. S. by the abovenam’d three *French* Commissioners on the one part, and Monsieur *Van Beuningen* and Sir *John Trevor* on the other. Tho the Course of *Publick Affairs* seem’d to change, in others Eyes, yet it appear’d to Sir *William Temple* †

* Monsieur *De Lionne* so highly resented the Diffidence of the *Dutch*, in relation to this last Overture of *France*, that in a Letter to the Count *D’Estrades*, dated *April* 13. 1668. N. S. he has these very words : Il se voit par là que si sa Majesté signoit l’E VANGILE, on ne le recevra pas de-delà de bonne grace : that is, This shews that if his Majesty signed the GOSPEL, it would be awkwardly receiv’d in those Parts. See Count *D’Estrades* Letters, Vol. V. p. 337. This Passage shews at least, what Opinion (even in Monsieur *De Lionne*’s Judgment) the World then entertain’d of *French Sincerity* and *Bona Fide*.

† See his Letters, Vol. I. p. 346.

constant in the French Design of a War; which he thought nothing could alter, but the visible Marks of Force and Steadiness in their Neighbours to oppose them. And indeed it was the Opinion of many, that the French concluded this last Treaty upon a double View, either of the Spaniards not agreeing to the Conditions contain'd in it, or of the Peace not being sign'd, and the Ratifications exchange'd within the time of the Truce; or, if the latter should happen, contrary to their Expectation, they thought it, however, more adviseable to trust to future Negotiations and Intrigues, to break the Design of the Triple Alliance, than, by a manifest Breach of their Promises, to exasperate not only England, Sweden, and Holland, but also all the Princes of Germany; and oblige them to take up Arms, for the Preservation of the rest of the Netherlands. On the other hand, the States-General, who at first receiv'd the Project with coldness, and demanded a Prolongation of the Truce till the 15th of June, were, at last, willing to sign the Treaty of Guaranty; both in order to bind the French to the Performance of their former Offers, and to stop the Mouth of Count D'Estrades, who loudly expostulated with them, for signing the Treaty for procuring a Loan of two Millions of Guilders to the Spaniards. But 'tis observable, that from this time the French Court began to doubt Monsieur De Wit's Devotion to their Interest; and resolv'd, one time or other, to chastise the Dutch for presuming, to thwart the Designs of their Grand Monarch, by the Triple Alliance.

The Marquis De Castel-Rodrigo so highly represented the violent Instances made by the Dutch Deputies at Brussels, for signing Monsieur De Lionne's Project without altering a Word, or so much as giving him any Assurance of assisting him, in case France should draw back; that he did not stick to say

to Sir *William Temple*, ' That if he were, at this Juncture, in the Council of *Spain*, he would give his Advice, without further Difficulty, for making Peace with *France*, by delivering up all *Flanders* to them, rather than suffer such a Treatment from all their Neighbours, who were more interested in the loss of it, than the *Spaniards*.' And, indeed, it could not enter into the Marquis's head, why the Allies should give *France* more Assurances than they desir'd, in case of *Spain's* refusing the *Alternative*, and even contrary to the Treaty at the *Hague*; and yet refuse *Spain* the bare Assurances of the Clauses in the said Treaty, in case of *France's* refusal, after having driven *Spain* to all the Allies could ask. Neither could he imagine, why *England* and *Holland* press'd him so much to sign a Project, Word for Word, from Monsieur *De Lionne*, without first using their Endeavours at *Paris*, towards some reasonable Exchange of the Towns in the heart of the Country, as Sir *William Temple* and the *Dutch* Deputies had promis'd him. He likewise wonder'd, that the Allies did not interpose to hinder the demolishing of the Places in *Franche-Comté*: So that by this Project, he clearly saw, he must be confin'd within *Brussels*, shut up by *French* Garisons, within seven Leagues of him on one side, and eight on the other: that *Burgundy* might be invaded as an open Country, without the possibility of defending it one day; and that *France* would only wait till *England* and *Holland* were engag'd in a Quarrel with their Neighbours, or till some Misunderstanding happen'd between the two Nations, to finish the Conquest of the *Netherlands*; which they might do in fifteen days. Sir *William Temple* pacify'd the Marquis, by representing to him what Provision had been made for the Preservation of the Remainder of *Flanders*: Upon which he told Sir *William*, that in case they would give him

him Assurances to follow the third separate Article of that Treaty, he was ready either to sign himself, or to give Powers to sign even Monsieur *De Lionne's* Project immediately, as the Foundation of the Treaty; and would rely upon the good Offices of the King of *England* and the States, to negotiate either some convenient Exchange for *Burgundy*, or to have it restor'd in the Condition it was taken; or else find means to repair the Towns demolish'd. Sir *William Temple* gave the Marquis the Assurances he desir'd, on the part of *England*; and acquainted Monsieur *De Wit* with what pass'd at *Brussels*; telling him withal, that in his Opinion, *they must endeavour to finish what remain'd to be done, all together at Aix, or at Paris.* Monsieur *De Wit* was of the same Opinion, as appears by the following Answer.

SIR,

YOU ought to be well satisfy'd with your whole Conduct, since the Success so well answers your good Intentions; and that your Work has so excellent an Agreement with the Foundation you had laid. All Christendom must allow you the Glory, of having first dispos'd the King of Great Britain's Mind to so strict an Alliance between his Majesty and this State, for the universal Good and Peace of Europe. It is upon this Principle, you have continu'd to labour with so much Application and Success, with the Marquis De Castel-Rodrigo, that it is chiefly to you we are oblig'd for the good Disposition he is in at present; and for the Enjoyment of so great an Advantage to Christendom, as results from it. I speak of it as a thing we possess already, because I see nothing can hinder us from it; it being likely that the Baron De Bergeyck has already executed the Power we have sent him; and that the Court of Madrid, in order to deliver Flanders from its troublesome Guests, will no longer defer to ratify the Treaty. For the rest, I agree entirely with your Sentiments;
and

and am of Opinion, some exchange of Places should be negotiated, immediately after the signing of the Treaty. I also agree with you, that this Negotiation will be more conveniently manag'd afterwards at Paris, than any where else; at least, if the Marquiss De Castel-Rodrigo can resolve to have Confidence enough in the King of Great Britain's Ministers, and those of the States, for the Management of an Affair of this Nature: Tho, if he consider'd well, he will find that we both have the same Interest in it. You have nothing now to do, but to go on your own way, upon the Foundation of the Agreement of January the 23d, to support the Peace made, by a GUARANTY of all who are interested in it, either in general, or in particular; never fearing, that those who shall negotiate jointly with you, in the name of this State, will disorder the Harmony that has appear'd in the whole Course of this Negotiation: What they do, being as well from their own Inclination, as in pursuance of their Orders.

Three days before the date of this Letter, that is, on the 24th of April, N. S. Sir William Temple set out from Brussels for Aix-la-Chapelle, with nine and twenty Persons in his Company, of which, Ten in his own Livery. Besides those who belong'd to him, the Earl of Stafford, Captain Burridge and Captain Wesely accompany'd him in his Journey; and twenty of the Marquiss De Castel-Rodrigo's Guard attended him, till he came the second Night into the Territories of Liege. The first Night at Louvain pass'd without any Ceremony, Sir William not taking upon him any new Character in the Spanish Dominions: but the second Night he was receiv'd as the King of Great Britain's Ambassador, and lodg'd at Herkinraedt, a rich Abbey of Bernardine-Nuns. The next Morning the Magistrates of Hassel sent to know, whether his Excellency pass'd by their Town in his way to Maestricht, that they

they might pay him the Honour due to his Character : But he desiring to avoid these Ceremonies, chose to pass a private way, about a Mile from the Town. However, he found all the Road over-against the Place crouded with People, and among them the Magistrates, who entertain'd him with a Speech, a Banquet, great store of Wine, and all the great Guns of the Town at the same time. The same Night he arriv'd at *Maestricht*, where he was receiv'd by a Discharge of all the Artillery, the Garison rang'd through the Streets as he pass'd, and at the end of them a Volley of their Small Shot. At his Inn he was immediately visited by the *Rhinegrave*, Governor of the Place, and after him by the Magistrates of the Town. The next Morning he return'd a Visit to the *Rhinegrave*, who accompany'd him back to his Inn. At his departure all the great Guns of the Town were discharg'd thrice round, with greater Volleys of Shot than the Night before ; and the *Rhinegrave* met him in his Coach about half a Mile out of Town, to perform his last Compliment, having told the Lord *Stafford*, that he had express Orders from the States, to do all the Honour that was possible, both to his Character and his Person. From *Maestricht* he sent a Letter to the Baron *De Freisheim* at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, to give him notice of his intended Arrival on *Friday* the 27th of *April*, N. S. but withal, to desire him to keep it private, that so he might enter with little Noise or Ceremony, in regard he came upon a sudden Journey, and a very short Stay ; and therefore with the Retinue of the King's Resident at *Brussels*, rather than of his Ambassador. The Baron did his part in suppressing the Knowledg of it. But the Town having notice, by Orders they had given at *Maestricht*, sent one to meet his Excellency in the midway with a Compliment, and desire, that they might receive him as they had done

done other Ambassadors. Sir *William* left it to them to do as they pleas'd; and the rather, because he heard that Monsieur *Colbert*, the *French* Ambassador, had made a solemn Entry six Days before, with very great Train and Ceremony; and he thought by this more private Entry, to avoid the Expectation of any other: so he was receiv'd in the Town with all the Guns, and the Burghers in Arms, and complimented immediately at his Arrival, both from the Magistrates of the Town, and a Commander of the Duke of *Newburgh's*, to assure him, that the Duke had given him Orders for two thousand Horse to attend him upon the Confines, and to accompany him into the Town, as he had done the *French* Ambassador at his solemn Entry; and that the Baron *De Friesheim's* Assurance of his Excellency's desiring to enter privately, had only prevented that Attendance. The same Night, about ten a Clock, Sir *William* went *incognito* to Monsieur *De Beverning*, the *Dutch* Ambassador's House; resolving to tell him, that upon his Arrival he intended to live after another manner with him, than with any of the other Ambassadors; as well in respect of the new Alliance between their Masters, as of their *Mediation*. The *Dutch* Ambassador happen'd to be in Bed; but having heard of Sir *William Temple's* Intention, visited him early the next Morning, without Train or Ceremony; and gave him full Information of all that had pass'd at *Aix*; by which it appear'd, that nothing in the Peace could be done till the arrival of his *Britannick* Majesty's Ambassador. Sir *William* was that Morning taken ill of a Fever, which delay'd his sending to give the several publick Ministers advice of his arrival till about Ten a Clock: and then he was prevented by Compliments, first from the *French*, and then from the *Spanish* Ambassadors, which were return'd that Morning; and succeeded

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in the Afternoon by Visits from them, both in the same Order. *The Despatch*, said,* Sir William (in a Letter he wrote that Day to my Lord Arlington) of seeing the Baron De Bergeyck yet refuse to sign the Project of the Treaty, without another Dispatch from the Marquiss, after that I brought him, is enough to lose all Patience: My ill Humour, I confess, is not lessen'd, by seeing my self here with equal Character to other Ministers, and without possibility, in this Place, of putting my self in an Equipage suitable to them; which I did not think possible neither to provide my self before my Journey, considering the uncertainty of it, almost to the very last, and the Assurance I came with from the Marquiss, of the Treaty's being sign'd the first moment; so that I thought three Days would end our Business. The same Evening Sir William wrote to the Marquiss; gave him an Account of the Visits he had receiv'd from the Baron De Bergeyck, Monsieur Colbert, and Monsieur Beverning; and told him, No other steps could, in this Juncture, be made for saving the Netherlands, but by immediately signing the Project sent to the Baron De Bergeyck: That the French Ambassador declar'd he was ready to sign that very Evening, and to answer any Exceptions the Baron could make upon the Project: But that Spain must impute to it self, whatever might happen by this loss of time. That he (Sir William) saw plainly, Monsieur Colbert was ready to second and assist the Baron De Bergeyck in any Delays that might be given to the Affair; and foreseeing that it must at length pass in the Words of the Project, since England and Holland were already engag'd about it at Paris; he (Mr. Colbert) hop'd either to see the Treaty break, or have the Honour to make Spain yield, at last, upon all Difficulties they first rais'd. Therefore Sir William desir'd the Marquiss, in the Name of all those who wish'd well to the

* See his Letters, Vol. I. p. 354.

Affairs of Spain and Christendom, to dispatch an express Command to the Baron to sign without further Trifling; and to send him Instructions for any thing the Marquiss should find convenient to have negotiated afterwards; in which he (Sir William) should have Monsieur Beverning's Assistance, but not at all till the Project was signed.

Sir William Temple, upon his first Interview with the Dutch Ambassador, enquir'd of him what Inter-course had pass'd between him and Cardinal Ros-pigliosi, the Pope's Nuncio, who bore the Publick Character of *Mediator*; tho the same resided, in effect, in the *English* and *Dutch* Ministers: and finding that after some Offices by third Persons between them, it had stop'd upon some Difficulties, without coming to any Visits or formal Compliments; Sir William desir'd the Lord Stafford, when he made a Visit of himself to the Nuncio, to let him know, in common Conversation, 'That Sir William finding by what had pass'd between him and the Dutch Ambassador, that the same Difficulties were like to befall him, had omitted to give him any notice of his Arrival: but to tell him, at the same time, that he was very much a Servant to the Merits of the Cardinal *Padrone*, upon his Acquaintance with him at *Brussels*; and was very glad to hear of the continuance of his Health since his last Recovery.' And so that matter ended; Sir William, who had no Directions in that Point, desiring as civilly as he could, to take this occasion of avoiding further Commerce with the Pope's Nephew and Publick Minister.

Sir William Temple kept his Bed for some Days, notwithstanding which he still apply'd himself to Business; and, on the last Day of *April*, wrote to the Marquiss *De Castel-Rodrigo*, as follows:

MY

MY LORD,

I Find my Health very much impair'd, and God keep me from those Accidents which the Despight I have upon the present Posture of Affairs, may add to my Indisposition. All I have to say is, that the Ambassador of France has Orders not to change a Word in the Project, as prepar'd by our Ministers at Paris. The Dutch Ambassador has the same Orders from his Masters: The Nuncio presses also the signing without any Alteration; and all the German Ministers are of the same Opinion. The Baron refuses to sign without another Order from Brussels: Upon which the French Ambassador presses both me and Monsieur Beverning, to give him an Act, testifying, that he has been ready to sign, ever since the arrival of the Project. The Dutch Ambassador protests he cannot refuse it; and besides, that if the Baron will not sign to morrow, he will depart, and return to Holland. The most Christian King has sent all his Officers into the Field, and intends to follow them in Person; so that our Ministers at Paris apprehend some new Accidents, unless they are prevented by signing the Treaty. As for my self, I have Instructions to use all means for forwarding the Peace, in concert with the Dutch Ambassador; and can by no means depart from his Resolution. I bear, as patiently as I can, the Mortification, to see that I must pass for a Person whom your Excellency has impos'd on, by giving me an Order which your Minister was not to obey; but I cannot, without the utmost uneasiness, see that the Affairs of all Christendom must be absolutely ruin'd, by a Caprice of the Baron De Bergeyck: For I will not, as others do, impute to your Excellency such a Feinte, as that of drawing from us all Assurances you demanded, upon your Promise of immediately signing the Treaty; and then of giving me a sort of Order to the Baron, contradicted before by a Counter-Order in secret. — I should not have left Brussels, had not

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your Excellency assur'd me, that the Baron should sign without delay, whenever I judg'd it necessary: I now find it so; and have told him it is so very necessary, that I believe France would not have carried greater Advantages, nor triumph'd more upon the winning of a Battel, than in the Advances they have made in this Affair. For my self, I never in my Life had a greater Mortification than what I have undergone on this occasion.

Upon these pressing Instances and Expostulations, the Marquis sent Orders to the Baron *De Bergeyck* to sign the Treaty; which he did accordingly on the 2d of *May*: the two Instruments of which were immediately deliver'd into the Hands of Sir *William Temple*, viz. one signed in his Presence, the other in the *Dutch* Ambassador's; which Sir *William* was glad to obtain, so to surmount the Difficulties rais'd upon delivering the Instruments to the *Nuncio*. By this Peace the *French* were to keep possession, in full Sovereignty, of the Towns, Places, and Forts they had taken during the last Campaign, viz. *Charleroy, Binch, Aeth, Douay, Fort-de-Scarpe, Tournay, Audenarde, Lille, Armentiers, Courtray, Bergues and Furnes*, with their Dependencies; on condition, that *France* should restore to *Spain* the *Franche-Comté*, and all other Places which the Arms of *France* might have seiz'd on, to the Day of the proclaiming of the Peace, after the exchanging of the Ratifications: Which was to be done by the last Day of that Month inclusively; and that all Kings, Princes, and Potentates might give to their most Christian and Catholick Majestys, their Promises and Assurances of Guaranty. After the signing, two whole Days were spent in removing some Difficulties started, about the inserting the Powers of the Baron *De Bergeyck*, who on the 5th of *May* return'd to *Brussels* in discontent; and complaining of the Violence and Injustice, by which the Spa-

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niards were compell'd to this Peace, Sir William Temple had three several Letters of the Marquiss's while he was at *Aix*, upon that Subject. But Sir William frankly told him, and the Earl of *Arlington* * his Opinion, ' That since Don Juan was ' neither arriv'd with Supplies, nor hardly expected ' in any time; since *Holland* was so desperately ' bent upon the Peace, without any regard to the ' Spanish Honour or Interest, further than they join'd ' immediately with their own; since the Emperor ' appear'd wholly unconcern'd in the matter; since ' Spain had not been able to find means to engage ' England or Sweden in their Quarrel, by Supplies ' necessary to both Crowns; since his Britannick ' Majesty was not in any Condition of entring ' into the Business single, upon Considerations of ' Honour, Justice, or a remote Danger: And consequently, since upon the Projects made at *Paris*, ' it grew evident to Spain, that they must sign ' the first Project of Peace drawn up by Monsieur *De Lionne*, or a worse: Upon all these ' Considerations, it was Sir William Temple's Opinion, that 'twas the Interest of the Spaniards ' frankly to end the Affair, immediately upon his ' Arrival at *Aix*, and gain the most time possible ' to get the Ratifications from *Madrid*, before the ' last day of *May*; and thereby take away from ' France all Hopes, or Pretences of breaking, (to ' which they were strongly tempted by the Spaniards ' neglect of Preparations) without such an Evidence ' of Perfidiousness and Ambition, as would of necessity engage *Holland* in the Defence of the Spaniards. And upon the same Considerations Sir William urg'd the Baron *De Bergeyck* to finish the ' Affair.' In a Letter to the Earl of *Arlington* about this Transaction, Sir William added, ' That he

* See Sir W. Temple's Letters, Vol. I. p. 374, 383.

' had

' had been the more earnest in bringing it to an
 ' Issue, because he conceiv'd by all he had from his
 ' Lordship, as well as from other hands, not only
 ' that they desir'd it in *Holland*, but that the Peace
 ' was necessary for the Constitution of his Majesty's
 ' present Affairs. And since, said Sir William, he
 ' has had the Glory of making two Peaces so important,
 ' we have now nothing to wish, but to see him in a
 ' Condition to make War as well as Peace, whenever
 ' the Honour and Interest of his Crowns shall make it
 ' necessary: For that Necessity can, I suppose, be no
 ' ways long avoided, but by our being in a Posture
 ' to welcome it whenever it comes, and to make Ad-
 ' vantage of it. And I think the best time to fall in-
 ' to Counsels tending to this great End, will be after
 ' the Conclusion of this general Peace, when no Engage-
 ' ment abroad forces his Majesty to have so much
 ' need of Money from his People. For, the time to
 ' repair the Harms that Storms have done a House, is
 ' in fair Weather; and to mend a leaky Ship, she must
 ' be brought ashore. — God grant we may take Warn-
 ' ing by the poor Spaniards Example, whose ill Con-
 ' duct of late in the Government, has so far subjected
 ' them to their Neighbours Disesteem, Insolence and
 ' Humour, as well as their Conquests, Violence, and Op-
 ' pression; which, I confess, have been enough to put them
 ' upon such desperate Counsels, as your Lordship men-
 ' tions, of giving up all to the French in the Nether-
 ' lands, rather than be the bare Guardians of others
 ' Frontiers. And yet all these Misfortunes are the na-
 ' tural Consequences of their Conduct, and will never
 ' fail befalling any Prince, that follows their Example.
 ' I wish that might befall the French, to temper a lit-
 ' tle such an OVER-GROWN GREATNESS;
 ' but I doubt it much from the PRESENT KING's
 ' Dispositions, among whose Qualities those of Care-
 ' lessness and Lavishing his Treasures, I am afraid,
 ' are none. Therefore I wish him employ'd in some
 ' very

‘ very charming Pleasures, or else in some more difficult Enterprizes than his last, and where we may not have so great a share.

Sir William Temple having brought the Negotiation at *Aix* to a happy Conclusion, set out from thence on the 9th of *May* N. S. for *Brussels*, in order to pursue the Directions he had receiv’d from the Earl of *Arlington*, about the Subsidies promis’d by *England* and *Holland*, on the part of *Spain*, to the Crown of *Sweden*, in order to engage the latter in the *Triple-Alliance*. Upon the Confidence of these Promises, Count *Dhona*, as was hinted before, went to *England*; where, upon the Exchange of the Treaty of the *Triple-Alliance*, the *English* Ministers, and *Dutch* Ambassador then in *London*, gave him an Act; wherein, in concert with Count *Molina*, the *Spanish* Ambassador, they undertook to get those Promises made good by the Governor of the *Spanish Netherlands*, within six Weeks time, when the Ratifications were expected from *Stockholm*. But when Sir William Temple, jointly with the *Dutch* Deputy at *Brussels*, demanded of the Marquis *De Castel-Rodrigo* the Performance of that Engagement, he alledg’d, ‘ That his Promise of sending Powers to Count *Molina* was in time of War, and with Intention of engaging *Sweden* in it, as well as *England* and *Holland*, in the Defence of the *Low-Countries*: That the Peace had alter’d those Measures; and, tho he had Powers to grant what he thought fit in the time of War, whose Accidents admitted not recourse to *Spain*, yet he had not the same in time of Peace, but had written effectually upon this Subject: That in the mean while, he expected to know the Effect of the *Triple Alliance*, and see the Form of GUARANTY it should produce, with what Concert, and with what Advantages for the *Spanish-Netherlands*; of which he had yet receiv’d no
‘ par-

‘ particular Account from the Count *De Molina*.
 ‘ That he did not understand, why *Spain* should
 ‘ bear the Expence of those Months which the
 ‘ *Swedes* had kept up their Troops, only at the
 ‘ desire of *Holland*, and without any regard to the
 ‘ *Spanish* Provinces, which was from the Conclusion
 ‘ at *Breda*, to that of the League of the *Hague*,
 ‘ wherein Count *Dhona* enter’d; and which seem’d
 ‘ the first Instance of the *Swedes* concerning them-
 ‘ selves in the Affairs of *Spain*.’ The *Dutch* Deputy
 press’d the Marquis hard upon his Promise, and
 former Declaration to Sir *William* and himself, that
 he had sent his Powers to Count *Molina*: so that
 the Debate growing warm, Sir *William* was fain
 to divert it, upon his Expectation of new Powers
 and particular Instructions; by which, he said, he
 hop’d to be able to give the Marquis satisfaction in
 the Project of the intended Guaranty. The same
 * Afternoon, upon the Arrival of Sir *John Trevor*’s
 Secretary, Sir *William Temple* agreed with the Mar-
 quis, that the Exchange of the Ratification of the
 Treaty of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, should be made the 26th
 at *Paris*, by the hands of the *English* and *Dutch*
 Ministers; and that the Peace should be publish’d
 the 28th, in case they receiv’d a Courier, with
 Advice of the *French* Concurrence in that Day. As
 for the manner of executing the Treaty, it was Sir
William’s Opinion, nothing should be mention’d of
 it till the Exchange and Publication were over;
 since new Difficulties might arise upon it, which
 would be easiest overcome afterwards; and per-
 haps the Parties would have begun to disarm. The
 Marquis was of his Opinion, and only propos’d,
 that after the publication, Commissioners might
 be appointed on both Sides, and by the Mediators,
 for the better composing, and final Determination

* May 22. N. S.

Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE *Bar.* 81

of any Difference that might arise between the Parties. The Marquis took this Occasion to thank Sir *William Temple* for sparing him that Morning, in the Dispute he was fallen into with the *Dutch* Deputy: Adding, 'That in short, the *Dutch* had cross'd him in an Alliance he was making the Year before with *Sweden*, because they would make themselves masters of the Affair; and now would buy the *Swedes* Dependence at the Cost of *Spain*. That he had all the reason to be satisfy'd with his Majesty's Conduct in this Affair, but little in the *Dutch*: That he knew no reason why the *Spaniards* should not pay what they had promis'd to *Sweden*, after the Treaty at *Breda*; nor why all the Money *Spain* could spare, should not be given to the King of *England*, (upon a nearer League between them) who was the only Prince had proceeded affectionately and generously in the *Spanish* Affairs; and who was the best able to support them, in case he were in a Condition to make War, without his People's Purfes. That he expected the Baron *D'Isola* suddenly at *Brussels* for the Conclusion of the Guaranty, and this Affair with *Sweden*: And that, at last, if this Money must be paid by *Spain*, it should be all laid in his *Britannick* Majesty's hands, to dispose of as he pleas'd.' Sir *William* return'd the Marquis Thanks for Expressions so obliging, in what concern'd the part *England* had acted in this whole Affair; but desir'd him to take it for a Ground in all the Superstructures to be made upon the present Foundations, that SPAIN MUST NOT DISOBLIGE HOLLAND, EVEN TO OBLIGE ENGLAND; but dissemble any Resentments they had given him, and sacrifice them to the Advantage both *England* and *Spain* receiv'd by their separation from *France*. A solid Maxim, which ought to be a standing Rule for all sound and honest Statesmen:

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But the Reverse of which has, too often, unhappily been practis'd by ambitious and profligate Ministers; who have sacrific'd the true Interest of their Country, and of their Allies, either to their private Resentments, or Lust of Honours and Riches.

As for Sir *William Temple*, after the Conclusion of the *Triple Alliance*, and the Peace of *Aix*, he was at the end of his Ambition; having seen *Flanders* sav'd, as if it had been one of those Miracles the House of *Austria* had formerly been us'd to; the general Interests of *Christendom* secur'd against the Power and Incroachments of *France*; and at the same time the Honour and Consideration of the *British* Crown and Nation abroad, rais'd to a degree it had not been in for some Ages; and which there was little reason to expect it should be in some Ages to come, after the Disgrace at *Chatham*, and the Peace of *Breda* that succeeded it. He therefore return'd from *Aix* to *Brussels*, without other Thoughts than to remain there in his former Station of Resident; but upon his Arrival there, he met with Letters from the Earl of *Arlington*, that brought him the King's Orders to continue in the Equipage of an Ambassador, in order to serve his Majesty in the same Quality in *Holland*: Where, upon occasion of the late Alliances, his Majesty was resolv'd to renew a Character which the Crown of *England* had discontinu'd in that Country, since King *James's* time. In order hereto, Sir *William* was left at liberty to take his Leave of the Marquis *De Castel-Rodrigo*, and to return into *England* as soon as he pleas'd: which he did by the way of *Holland*, and left most of his Domesticks and Equipage at *Utrecht*.

Upon his arrival at *London* *, he was receiv'd with all possible Demonstrations of Favour and Re-

* See his Letter to his Father, Vol. I. p. 402. & seq. dated July 22. 1668.

Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE Bar. 83

spect, both by the King and Court ; People seeming generally pleas'd with the late Counsels and Negotiations, in which he had so great a share : And if he had been as forward to press his Fortune, as he was to deserve it, (and he was put enough in mind of it on this Occasion, both by his old Friends, and such as pretended to be so at this time of day) he would not have lost the Advantage of coming home with the common Opinion of great Merits. But he had so modest an Opinion of himself, that he could not imagine, why he should pretend to more than his Pay of the King, whilst he serv'd him ; and if he got Honour by them, 'twas, he thought, so much more than he reckon'd upon. Besides, he should have been shy to ask Money of him at a time, when, by the Cry of the Court, his Majesty wanted it more than himself. The *Spanish* Ambassador and Baron *D'Isola*, as well as others of his Friends, would needs have ask'd a Title for him ; and 'twas with Difficulty enough that he prevented it : But 'twas what he never coveted ; and he was resolv'd, that if ever it should be offer'd him, it should either begin with his Father, or his Son. He was very much press'd to dispatch his Preparations for his new Embassy by the Lord-Keeper *Bridgman* and the Earl of *Arlington*, who were extreme kind to him, and seem'd to value themselves very much upon the Measures lately taken by their Ministry. They told him, ' All the Business the King now had, both at home and abroad, would now turn upon his (Sir *William's*) hand in *Holland*, by keeping the *French* from breaking in upon the late Alliances, and the Confidence between both Nations ; and by drawing the EMPEROR and Princes of the EMPIRE into a common GUARANTY of the Peace : ' and thereupon they were very earnest with him to hasten his Departure. On the other hand, some of the Commis-

sioners of the Treasury (particularly Sir *Thomas Clifford*, Comptroller of the Household, and one of the Lords of the Treasury) first try'd to hinder the King's Resolution, of sending either an Ambassador into *Holland*, (on pretence of so long disuse of that Character) or Sir *William Temple* in particular: And when that could not be carried, they enter'd upon new Regulations in the *Exchequer*; among which, those concerning foreign Employments, brought down the Equipage-Mony of Ambassadors from Three Thousand Pounds, as it had been ever since the King came in, to Fifteen Hundred in *France* and *Spain*, and to one Thousand Pounds in all other Courts; and their Allowance, from One Hundred Pounds a Week, to Ten Pounds a Day in *France* and *Spain*, and to Seven in other Places. Tho this was pretended by the Commissioners as only a general Scheme of Parsimony, they found necessary in the present Condition of the Revenue; yet Sir *William* understood it as calculated just at this time, particularly for himself. The Earl of *Arlington* was of the same Opinion, and seem'd to take part in it, as a piece of Envy or Malice to himself, as well as to Sir *William Temple*, from some who were spighted at all that had lately pass'd between *England* and *Holland*, and at the Persons who had been at the head of those Counsels. As for Sir *William*, he resented it not only as a thing he had not deserv'd, upon an Employment cast wholly upon him by the King's Choice, and, as he seem'd to think, by the Necessity of his Affairs; but as that which he found plainly, by the short Experience of his last Embassy, would not defray the Expence of another, with any Honour to the King, or himself abroad. And tho he did not pretend to make his Fortune by these Employments, yet he was not so imprudent as to ruin it neither. He therefore once resolv'd absolutely

to refuse this Embassy, unless it were upon the Terms others had before; but the Lord *Arlington* put so much Weight upon his going, that he would not hear of his declining it. He argu'd, 'Twas
 ' what their Enemies would have, and intended by
 ' this Usage; that he could no ways disappoint them
 ' so much as by going; and that this Rule in the
 ' Exchequer would be broken in three Months
 ' time. That he should not consider small mat-
 ' ters of Mony in the Course of Fortune, and that
 ' the King could not fail of making his at a Lump,
 ' one time or other: That there was nothing he
 ' might not expect from his Majesty, upon his re-
 ' turn from this Embassy: and that if his Maje-
 ' sty had not thought him (*Sir William*) of abso-
 ' lute Necessity to him in *Holland*, upon this Con-
 ' juncture, he had brought him now into Secretary
 ' *Morris's* Place; which, upon *Sir William Temple's*
 ' going abroad, was design'd for *Sir John Trevor*.
 The Lord-Keeper was of the same Opinion, to
 have *Sir William* by no means refuse it; and some
 other of his Friends agreed with them both; con-
 cluding, that after a Year or Two of this Embassy,
 he could not fail of being either Secretary of State,
 or sent Ambassador into *Spain*; which were certain
 ways of making any Man's Fortune. With all this,
Sir William was not easy to resolve; and thereupon
 he wrote to his Father, *Sir John Temple*, then in
Ireland, earnestly desiring his Advice upon it: And
 that he might the better give it, *Sir William* ac-
 quainted him with one Circumstance that weigh'd
 a little with him, tho not at all with his Friends
 in *London*. These were all of Opinion, the
 Measures the King had lately taken could not be
 broken nor alter'd, however they might be snarl'd
 at by some Persons in the *French* and *Popish* Inter-
 est: But *Sir William* saw plainly, there were o-
 thers of another Mind. *Sir Thomas Clifford* did not
 stick

stick to say, in Confidence to a Friend of Sir William's, upon the publick Joy occasion'd by the *Triple Alliance*: Well, for all this Noise, we must yet have another War with the Dutch before it be long. And Sir William found, that he and Sir George Downing were endeavouring, with all possible Industry, to engage the *East-India* Company in London, in such Debates and Pretensions upon the Dutch, as would never be yielded to on that side; and would increase a Jealousy the *Hollanders* would ever have, of the unsteddy Counsels of *England*, and the latter's leaving such a Door open for some new Offences, when they should have a mind to take them. On the other hand, with admirable Penetration, he foresaw, ' That the *French* would leave no Stone
' unturn'd to break this Confidence between *England*
' and *Holland*, which spoil'd all their Measures and
' Designs, and without which they had the World
' before them: That if they could, they would
' undermine it in *Holland*, by Jealousies of the
' Prince of *Orange*, or any other Artifice; and
' would spare neither Promises nor Threats: That
' if he should be able to keep that side stanch,
' they would spare none of the same Endeavours
' in *England*, and would have some good Helps he
' saw already, or might have others that did not
' yet appear: That if by any of these ways, or
' other Accidents, the present Measures came to
' change, he was left in *Holland* to a certain loss,
' upon the Terms they would send him, tho he
' should be paid; but to a certain ruin, if he
' should not; which he might well expect from the
' Affections of some in the Treasury: and when
' his Embassy should be at an end, he might find
' a new World in *England*, and all the fine things
' he was now told of, might prove Castles in the
' Air.' On the other side, Sir William Temple knew, there was a great deal to be said for his going;
but

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but then he knew also, he was well as he was, and could not be ruin'd but by such an Adventure as this. While, in this uncertainty, Sir William Temple expected his Father's Opinion, and even entertain'd Hopes of seeing him in London, he receiv'd the following Letter from the Lord-Keeper Bridgman.

S I R,

July 26. 1668.

I Receiv'd your's yesterday Morning after you were gone, and am afraid the Letter which I sent you from Mr. Williamson, might come unseasonably to you; it not being so intended by me; nor I believe the Message from the King to be otherwise intended, than out of Kindness and Respect to you, to hasten you away; that you might know how important he held your Negotiations might be for his Service, at this critical time: and therefore I should be glad that you would take this by the right Handle. I had a Letter this Night from Sir Thomas Clifford, who writes, that they in the Treasury have a great desire to accommodate you; and tho it be not in the Privy-Seal that you shall have three Months advance, besides the 1000 l. yet they will be careful that you receive the Mony as it is due. The Draught of the Instructions is sent away to my Lord Arlington, and expected back on Tuesday Night; and the foreign Committee appointed to sit on Wednesday to dispatch them. Really, Sir, I do not think that there is any Intention in pressing your Departure for Holland, but just and honourable towards you, and with respect to the Greatness of the Employment, and the Urgency of the King's Affairs at the Hague: And (if you will take my Opinion) I would not have you take other Measures of it, even for your own sake. In the mean time, while you do stay, you may press on the Business of your Account, tho I should not advise you to retard your Journey upon that score: It may be as well press'd by your Lady, if she do not accompany you; or else by
your

your Solicitors, (among whom I will be one) who if any Obstructions be, may write to you to remove them: But you will find the Vice-Chamberlain dilatory, and then your Stay, at last, upon this new Business, may beget a misconstruction. You will pardon the freedom I take, in imparting my own Thoughts to you in this case, &c.

Upon the King's Message mention'd in this Letter, and the obliging Sollicitations of the Lord-Keeper, Sir William Temple hasten'd his departure from London, and about the latter end of August N. S. arriv'd at the Hague, with the Character of the King's Ambassador. While he yet remain'd Incognito, he enter'd into Conferences first with Monsieur Mierman, and afterwards * with Monsieur De Wit, about the Concerns of the Guinea Company; and told them the King's Commands to him, in that point, were only to procure the Reference of it to Commissioners for the adjusting Rules, by which both Companies should proceed, and thereby preventing their acting wholly by Rules and Officers of their own; which had been the first Occasion of the unhappy Disputes between both Nations, and might possibly prove so again. Mr. De Wit allow'd his Majesty's Consideration to be very prudent and necessary; assur'd Sir William, that the States would second those good Intentions; and that when he could find the Matter of Fact and Right, but alledg'd in distinct Testimonies of known Persons, he doubted not but he should easily find a Composure for all these Disputes, and agree upon a constant Regulation for the future. Sir William Temple, according to his Instructions, insisted upon Commissioners; and argu'd its being a

* September 6. N. S. See Sir William Temple's Letters, Vol. II. p. 5. & seq.

matter much more proper for such to debate and determine, as understood the Coasts, Situation, manner of Trade in those Parts, former Possessions, and Matters of Fact past, than for them two, how willing soever they should be to inform themselves, or to find Expedients. Monsieur *De Wit* seem'd inclin'd it should be so; at least, when the Pretensions were stated, so as it might appear what was to be refer'd to such Commissioners: But upon this he fell into the Discourse of some Exceptions to the Marine Treaty; by which the *London East-India* Company thought themselves aggriev'd; and how willing the States would be to alter the Form of Passports when they knew how the *English* desir'd it: And if the King wish'd any more particular Definition of what should be esteem'd a *Town invested*, he did not doubt he and Sir *William* might agree upon that too; having found him always to propose only what he thought reasonable, and to agree to what he found so; and that he (Monsieur *De Wit*) was made after the same manner, and so he should always find him. The thing he would be at was, upon occasion of this *Guinea* matter, to know at once the Bottom of all the *English* pretended, in point of regulating Commerce between the two Nations; having undoubtedly been inform'd of all the Noise made in *England*, by the *East-India* Company, upon the Subject of the *Marine Treaty*, or by their Patrons, either out of Zeal to the Good of the *English* Trade, or out of Envy at the Success of the late Counsels and Alliances, by which the King had the whole Honour of giving Peace to Christendom, over and above the Advantage of securing his own Kingdoms. But Sir *William*, who had no Instructions about it, declin'd entring into that Field, till he was further instructed; which, he believ'd, he might be in a little time. However, he resolv'd to say all he had

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thought,

thought, or the Earl of *Arlington* had infus'd into
 him, upon that Subject; and told Monsieur *De Wit*,
 that tho he could not enter into Particulars; yet,
 since he gave him the occasion, he would once for all,
 into the general. Hereupon he 'discours'd over to
 ' him the common Interest, and indeed Necessity of
 ' preserving perpetual the present Alliances between
 ' both Nations, especially on their side, while the
 ' Dangers were so great, from the AMBITION and
 ' POWER, as well as Neighbourhood of *France*;
 ' the great Overtures would now be made to Eng-
 ' land from thence, to the Prejudice of this Alli-
 ' ance, and at all other times, whenever they could
 ' hope the English were ready to receive them. That
 ' tho he (*Sir William*) could give him no Jealousy
 ' of them now, but on the contrary, assure him he
 ' might be at ease on that side; and that the King
 ' would only have the Honour of setting them
 ' an Example of his Sincerity and Constancy,
 ' which he would expect they should follow when
 ' the Game began with them, as it would after
 ' it ended with him: yet he (*Sir William*) would
 ' tell him, that *France* was, at all times, capable
 ' of making us such Offers, and of giving us our
 ' present Account so well, tho in Exchange, per-
 ' haps, of Danger to come, (in case of no new Revolu-
 ' tions) that whenever there should be in England a
 ' Prince less upright or less foreseeing than his Ma-
 ' jesty, or either a WEAK or CORRUPTIBLE
 ' MINISTRY, he could not answer what Measures
 ' we should take. That, upon this ground, he thought
 ' they could not do wiser, than to root this Alliance in
 ' the very Hearts of the People, and current Genius
 ' of the Nation, and not rely wholly upon the pre-
 ' sent Inclinations or Judgment of his Majesty, or
 ' the Dispositions of the Ministers: For if there
 ' were any thing that lay cross to it, in the com-
 ' mon Interest or Humour of the People, it would
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be, upon all occasions, breaking out to disturb it; and whenever that should concur with the Dispositions of the Prince, they would be able to make a great Noise in the World. Sir William added, that many Persons in *England*, either to make way for the *French* Alliance, by weakning or breaking this; or else, perhaps, to discredit the most applauded Counsels of the present Ministry, had rais'd a Clamour about the *Marine Treaty*, as if it had been a * ruining the Nation; and from thence took occasion to suggest, that we should never find any Fairness or Equality, in all we treated with the *Dutch*, but Subtilty, Hardship, and Injustice; and when occasion was, Obstinacy and Injury in all Matters of Commerce between us: while we gave them Reason to believe we thought their Friendship necessary, or very convenient to us. That he (Sir William) ever since he knew Monsieur *De Wit*, had maintain'd the contrary to his Majesty; assur'd him of the Sincerity he had found in all their Proceedings, and confidently believ'd, that his Majesty should find them ever reasonable and easy, in what should be offer'd to reduce Matters of Commerce to an Equality. That not only all his Credit, and perhaps Fortune, which was a small Matter, depended upon their making this good: But what was considerable, that the very Safety of our Alliance might, at one time or other, come to be at Stake upon it too; and therefore he thought they could not do a wiser thing, than to give us all reasonable Satisfaction in these Points, That an Equality it self would be the same Advantage to them, that a long Arm against a short would be between two Men with equal Swords; for considering their Par-

* How far this runs Parallel with the late Clamours about the BARRIER TREATY, let others determine.

' simony, Industry, Necessity of turning all their
 ' Stock to Trade for want of Land, and multitude
 ' of People; and, on the other side, our native
 ' Luxury, want of Order or Application, our Ex-
 ' tent and Cheapness of Land, and Ease of Taxes,
 ' which made People chuse to turn their Mony that
 ' way: they could never fail of Advantage enough
 ' in any *Equality*; and upon it would find the su-
 ' rest, the most commodious Ally, and the best
 ' able to protect them that they could have in the
 ' World; being without any Ambition or Designs
 ' among our Neighbours, further than to keep the
 ' *BALLANCE of Christendom*: And yet, on the
 ' other side, the *ONLY POWER* that was *FEARED*
 ' *BY FRANCE*, and that were able, in Conjunction
 ' of our Fleets with theirs, to awe them, by what
 ' they might suffer from Sea, into some Conside-
 ' ration of what was fit for them to act at Land.'

Sir *William Temple*, during this Discourse, find-
 ing Monsieur *De Wit* very attentive, and willing to
 let him go on, with Marks in his Countenance,
 of relishing and approving what he said, resolv'd
 to go yet one Point further, and to the Root
 of all that could spring into any Jealousies be-
 tween the two Nations. Hereupon he told Mon-
 sieur *De Wit*, ' It was true, that there wanted not
 ' some among us, that would be so wise to know,
 ' that it was impossible for us ever to fall into any
 ' firm * Confidence with the States upon their
 ' present Constitution; nor particularly with him,
 ' upon the Prince of *Orange's* occasion: that for his
 ' part, he was not at all of that mind; that tho
 ' the King could not lose the Affection he had for
 ' his Nephew, yet he was of Opinion, he could not
 ' express it better, than by infusing into him the
 ' Belief, *that he could make himself no way so happy*
 ' *as in the Good-will of the States, and trusting wholly*

* See the *Earl of Arlington's Letters*, Vol. I. p. 309.

' to them in the Course of his Fortunes, and not to pri-
 ' vate Factions, or foreign Intrigues and Applications.
 ' That his Majesty was of Opinion himself, That
 ' Princes were not apt to do themselves more Hurt, and
 ' make themselves less any ways, than by affecting too
 ' much Power, or such as was directly contrary to the
 ' Stomach and Genius of the Country which fell to their
 ' share. That besides this, he knew his Majesty
 ' was so just and so reasonable, that tho he should
 ' take kindly of the States, any Respect they should
 ' shew his Nephew; yet he (*Sir William*) did not
 ' believe he would offer that to any other King
 ' or State, which he should not take well that
 ' any other should offer to him; or ever would
 ' be put upon any such Designs by his Council, or
 ' his People's Inclinations: For they who look'd upon
 ' the Prince in a Possibility of one day to be their
 ' King; and that lov'd a Prince, who grounded his
 ' Power in the Affections of the People, and lov'd to
 ' rule by Law; had rather, perhaps, see the Prince of
 ' Orange happy in the Good-will of the States, and
 ' such moderate Power as they should think consistent
 ' with their Government, than of a Humour that aim'd
 ' at any thing that might tend to subvert their Civil
 ' Constitutions. So that *Sir William* saw nothing of
 ' Danger to them upon this Chapter, either from
 ' the Judgment or Disposition of his Majesty, or
 ' the Humour of the Nation; but was confident,
 ' in case they could agree upon Matters of Com-
 ' merce, nothing could ever intervene to break an
 ' Alliance that was so useful to both Nations, and all
 ' Christendom.' Upon this Discourse, *Monsieur De*
Wit, with very great Signs of Satisfaction, told
Sir William Temple, ' That all he had said was so
 ' reasonable, that he agreed perfectly with him in
 ' it: That he had observ'd a kind of Sympathy be-
 ' tween them two, which would ever make any
 ' thing easy which they should fall in Treaty of:
 ' That

' That he knew Sir *William* had been the Occasion
 ' of giving him, in *England*, the Reputation of
 ' an honest sincere Man; and he would never lose
 ' his, by giving cause to believe other of him.
 ' That he confess'd he had ever told Sir *William*,
 ' that the States would be ever contented with an
 ' Equality with *England*, in point of Trade; and,
 ' that provided they might know what it was
 ' *England* would be at, and propos'd nothing but
 ' what was equal and reciprocal between the two
 ' Nations; he would give him his hand, (as he did)
 ' that he would use his endeavours to give us
 ' Satisfaction in it; and he thought he knew the
 ' Minds of the States so well, that he durst almost
 ' promise it him beforehand, in their Names. That
 ' for any thing amiss in the *Marine Treaty*, he did
 ' not see how any Complaint could be made of
 ' what Sir *William Temple* had done in it: But that
 ' the Ambassadors at *Breda* ought to answer for
 ' that, if there were any thing ill in it; the Treaty
 ' Sir *William* sign'd being, Word for Word, the
 ' same with theirs; and both Parties Consent being
 ' necessary to alter what was then provisional, and
 ' what was now formally establish'd. That for the
 ' Form of Passports, the defining what Towns
 ' should be said to be besieg'd, and even for any
 ' other Matters that should be thought necessary
 ' to be added to the *Marine Treaty*, since nothing
 ' else was desir'd to be alter'd; if the King would
 ' instruct Sir *William* fully in all Points, and that
 ' they prov'd, as he said, equal and reciprocal, he
 ' would once more undertake they should agree
 ' upon them: But only desir'd, that no use might
 ' be made of this, to encourage either the *East-*
 ' *India* Company, or others, to make new Excep-
 ' tions or Demands. From this, he discours'd of
 ' our Alliance, and the Considerations we had to
 ' strengthen and continue it; and how much he
 ' was

‘ was pleas’d with what Sir *William* said of the
 ‘ King’s Resolution, of his *shewing them an Exam-*
 ‘ *ple of Constancy*, and that he ought not to doubt
 ‘ their following it. That the *States* had *suck’d*
 ‘ *in that Principle like Milk*, which was already pass’d
 ‘ into the very Flesh and Substance of their Body.
 ‘ That he knew *France* would try them, as well
 ‘ as *England*; and he would not say, but they
 ‘ might possibly gain some one of the little Pro-
 ‘ vinces: but for *Holland*, in particular, and the
 ‘ Provinces in general, it was not a thing to be
 ‘ thought on.’ From this Monsieur *De Wit* fell to
 speak of the Prince of *Orange*, and seem’d very much
 pleas’d with what Sir *William Temple* had said on
 that Subject, both of the King’s Dispositions, and
 the People’s Humours and Thoughts; especially
 that of the King, of *doing as he would be done by*:
 He added what he had said formely, ‘ that the
 ‘ States Intentions were, to make the Prince of
 ‘ *Orange* Captain-General of the Forces, and Ad-
 ‘ miral too, tho it was not mention’d; and to
 ‘ this purpose they would already have brought
 ‘ him into the Council of State, in order to fit
 ‘ him for those Charges, had it not been for some
 ‘ of the Provinces that had hinder’d it, upon pre-
 ‘ tence of more Kindness to him, and designing
 ‘ greater matters for him. That it was, in-
 ‘ deed, agreed those Employments were inconsi-
 ‘ stent with that of *Stadtholder*; which gave as
 ‘ much Authority in the Civil, as the others in
 ‘ the Military part of the Government. That
 ‘ considering the Smallness of their State, and
 ‘ Greatness of their *Militia*, there was an end of
 ‘ their Republick when both were in one Hand.
 ‘ That for his part, if he had been born under a
 ‘ King, he could never have consented to what
 ‘ his Ancestors did towards the King of *Spain*;
 ‘ but being born under a Commonwealth, and
 ‘ sworn

' sworn to maintain it, he could consent to no-
 ' thing that should destroy it: And he wonder'd
 ' how it had subsisted so long in that Danger,
 ' which was to be attributed to their constant
 ' Wars abroad, and to the great Moderation of
 ' this Prince's Predecessors, among whom none
 ' had Thoughts of it but the last: *nor would he ever*
 ' *have fallen into them, without having been put upon*
 ' *them by the FRENCH, who had his BREED-*
 ' *ING and his EDUCATION.* That if he had
 ' liv'd, he would have been the ablest of all the
 ' Race.' And from hence fell into Commendation
 of this young Prince's Parts and Dispositions:
 And so this matter ended. However, we may
 here take notice of a Passage that happen'd some
 Months before, and which shews, that Monsieur
De Wit's pretended Kindness to the Prince of
Orange, (afterwards King *William III.*) was but a
 political Compliment to his Royal Uncle. The
 House, it seems, where his Highness liv'd at the
Hague, properly belong'd to the States; but had,
 for many Years, been assign'd for the use of his
 Family. Now his Highness's Enemies, who were
 continually studying how they might depress and
 mortify him, resolv'd to expel him out of his
 House. But *De Wit* being sent to him with the
 Message, the young Prince with a Boldness and Se-
 dateness becoming his Extraction, made Answer,
That He, his Father, Grandfather, and Great Grand-
father, having so long liv'd in that House, he was
very unwilling to leave it; and the Pensionary might
go and tell the States, he would not, till forc'd out of
it. This being come to King *Charles's* Ear, the
 Lord *Arlington* took notice of it in a * Letter to
 Sir *William Temple*, in these words: *You know how*

See the Earl of Arlington's Letters, Vol. I. p. 309. Da-
 ted April 6. 1668. O. S.

tender

tender his Majesty has been in pressing the States to do any thing for the Prince, inconsistent with the Maxims of their present Government: If his Majesty's Discretion should expose his Nephew to such a Mortification, what would his Highness, and all Standers-by say of it, especially at a time when England and Holland are so united? His Majesty is loth to enter into any Expostulation in this matter, till he knows the truth of it; which he thinks he cannot better come by, than by your questioning Monsieur De Wit upon this Subject, and deriving your Curiosity therein from common Fame: as likewise to know what kind of Figure his Highness shall make this Campaign, in case the Holland Army take the Field. Sir William Temple follow'd these Directions; and Monsieur De Wit having reported the Prince's Answer, and the English Ambassador's private Expostulation to the States, they thought it Prudence to let the matter die. Moreover, in the first Interview Sir William Temple had, at this time, with Monsieur De Wit, he represented to the Pensionary, how well his Majesty had taken his former Expressions of Kindness to the Person of the Prince; and how he hop'd he would express it in some particular Care of his Highness's private Affairs, which his Majesty heard were running to ruin. The Pensionary said, ' They were, indeed, ' in an ill Condition, but he thought not so bad ' as they were said to be. That he had that very ' Morning been instructing him in the Finances of ' that State, as his Course was to go over all the ' matters that concern'd their Government; and ' the Knowledg whereof would be necessary to ' make him fit for the Service of his Country. ' That he had taken occasion likewise to put him ' in mind of his own particular Revenue; and he ' hop'd he would fall into the Care of it.' As for the Princess Dowager's design to lay down the Guardianship of his Highness, (a thing much talk'd on

at this time, and push'd on by some (for certain Ends that never came to publick Knowledge) Monsieur *De Wit* pretended that he was altogether ignorant of it. The *English* Ambassador told him, *He had several Letters for the Prince, and desir'd his Opinion, whether it was fit he should deliver them as soon as he could?* The Pensionary answer'd, by all means. Sir *William Temple* added, That the King, his Master, had commanded him to live with the Prince, as his Nephew, and a Grandchild of England; and in that Respect, by order of Council, that he was to give him Precedency upon all Occasions; and at least, to make up in Respect whatever wanted in more material Offices. That upon this Subject he would tell the Pensionary once for all, that he would rather quit his Employment, than live with any Restraint upon that Point. That he would desire him to protect him in it, against any jealous or exceptionable Persons that might be among the States, and might be shock'd at any frequent Conversation with the Prince, in case it should grow between them. That he would assure him, the direct Instructions the King had given him, concerning his Highness, were to infuse into him the Desire and Value of supporting himself wholly upon the Affection and Goodwill of the States, and not upon any private Factions; and that for his own part, he would make good his Word to him, that neither in that, nor in any thing else, he would be the Man that should deceive him. The Pensionary made answer, It was wise in the King; and he firmly believ'd the Ambassador would not deceive him, tho he might do it easier than another; since no Minister ever came to the States, of whom they entertain'd so good an Opinion, as they did of Sir *William Temple*.

Another Passage relating to the Prince of Orange, deserves to be taken notice of in this place: His Highness's Friends and Relations were justly solicitous, how he might raise his low Condition to the

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Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE *Bar.* 99

the former Splendor of his Family; which could not be done but by a wary and gradual Progression. The *Zealanders* seem'd to be well affected towards his Highness; and therefore having privately gain'd the major part of their States to his Interest, he pretended a Journey to *Breda*, upon a Design of Hunting only; but instead of any long stay there, he went for *Zealand*, where the States being assembled, he desir'd Admittance, and then propos'd his being chosen *first Noble*, according as had been done to his Ancestors at Eighteen Years old; and promis'd to him at the same Age, which he had now reach'd within two Months. This they readily consented to, with great Expressions of Kindness to him: And some expected they would have proceeded to the electing him to be Stadtholder of that Province; but things were not yet ripe for so great a Change. The Prince's Instrument in this Affair, was Monsieur *D'Odyke*, in conjunction with the Princess Dowager of *Orange*: But the *Spanish* Ambassador suspected the *English* Minister had a hand in the Contrivance, during the time of his being at the *Hague*. Sir *William Temple* assures us of the contrary: And indeed the Earl of *Arlington's* * Directions to him thereupon were, ' That his Majesty not being able to judg what ' the Consequences of it might be in *Holland*, and ' fearing lest the Suspicion of his having had ' knowledg thereof, might disturb his Ambassa- ' dor's Negotiation; he should take care to obviate ' all Jealousy upon it; and that neither the State ' nor Mr. *De Wit*, should receive any Umbrage up- ' on it.' Accordingly, Sir *William Temple* discours'd with divers of the States, and particularly with the Pensionary; who, tho frankly, yet coldly, told

* See the Earl of Arlington's Letters, Vol. I. p. 350. This Letter is dated September 14. O. S. 1658.

him, That there would be no ill Consequence of the Prince being chosen first Noble: and, for his part, if his Highness had imparted his Design to him, he should not only have consented to his attempting it, at that time, but serv'd him in it. However, that the manner was somewhat shocking, having come, the Day before he went out of Town, to take his Leave, and said all that could be to disguise any such Intention. Which seem'd to shew, he would not think of living in any Confidence with the States, nor with those into whose Care they had committed him. That if it should proceed to his being chosen Stadtholder of Zealand, it would come to breed a sharpness between the two Provinces: That Zealand would pretend he should enter into the Council of State upon that Right; and by virtue of a former Resolution, that the Stadtholder of every Province should have that Privilege, which was when every Province had that Magistrate: That now Holland having none, nor was like to have any, they doubted it would hardly be consented to, while other of the States said absolutely it would not. And so the Pensionary concluded, That the Prince had gain'd nothing by this step, besides entring into the States-General as deputed from Zealand, and representing the Nobility of that Province. Whatever Monsieur De Witt thought of that Step, his Highness, by this time began to shew himself a very forward and hopeful Prince: So that he deserv'd this Character from Sir William Temple; That he was a young Man of more Parts than ordinary, and of the better sort; that is, not lying in that kind of Wit which is neither of use to one's self, nor any body else, but in good plain Sense; which shew'd Application, if he had Business that deserv'd it; and this with extream good and agreeable Humour and Disposition, without any Vice: That he was asleep a-bed by Ten a Clock: Lov'd Hunting as much as he hated Swearing; and prefer'd Cocoa Ale, before any Wine. Sir William Temple having

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transmitted particular Accounts of his first Steps at the *Hague* to the Court of England, the King, Duke of Buckingham, Lord-Keeper, and Earl of Arlington, highly applauded * his Ability and Skill, for having so sufficiently and seasonably sounded the Mind of Monsieur De Wit; and were all well pleas'd with the Temper Sir William observ'd that Government to be in, towards the maintaining a good Correspondence with England: Which, however, the Earl of Arlington said, he should never think sufficiently cemented, till he found them easy in those Points committed to Sir William's Care, relating to the Guinea and East-India Companies, and the Marine-Treaty; for the adjusting of which, he directed Sir William to insist on Commissioners: and that he saw Spain come roundly off with the Payment of the Money to Sweden. The Earl of Arlington likewise acknowledg'd his Majesty's Satisfaction in the Accounts Sir William gave, of the Prince's Person and Affairs; with further Directions, to take care that his Highness's Courtesy should not over-rule Sir William's Order in the Visits to him: Which his Excellency perform'd with constant punctuality; both out of Duty and particular Respect and Affection to the Prince; being wonderfully pleas'd and delighted with his inquisitive Genius.

All this while Sir William Temple resided, as it were, *incognito* at the *Hague*, by reason of the Difficulties attending the Forms of his Character of Ambassador; which hindred him from receiving, and returning Visits to Ministers of an inferior Character; and restrain'd him to meet them only † in third Places. He wish'd this Obstruction to Business might have been remov'd, and wrote about it to the Earl of Arlington; but the King would follow

* See the Earl of Arlington's Letters, Vol. I. p. 345, 346, 347, & seq.

† Earl of Arlington's Letters, ubi supra.

close the *French* Ceremonial: And so an Order of Council was sent to Sir *William*, whereby he was forbid to give *Envoy*s and *Residents* the *Precedence* in his own *House*, and allow'd to see them only in third *Places*. Hereupon Sir *William* wrote to the Lord-Keeper, ' That * tho they must be content to follow, since ' the *English* Court were not at present of a humour to lead; yet he believ'd he could order it ' so, as *Spain* and *Sweden*, and the *States-General*, ' should alter the Custom by Consent, with *England*. That he wish'd his Majesty might have ' said singly, *he would follow no other Prince's Rules* ' *but the old ones which he had us'd, and seem'd to* ' *approve, by Sir George Downing's Demands; and* ' *so had given him (Sir William) order, at his first Com-* ' *ing, to give the Hand and Door, as all Ambassa-* ' *dors did, till the French Caprice chang'd it, about* ' *eight Years before.* That this he took to have ' been of more Honour, as well as Advantage to ' his Majesty; but that, it seems, he (Sir *William*) ' did not understand right: tho, perhaps, others ' would have understood it so too, if they had ' seen both *Spain*, *Sweden*, and the *States*, follow ' his Majesty's Example; which was every body's ' Opinion, they would have done; as it was many ' People's, that *France* it self would have fallen in ' too; upon the Advantage in Commerce with o- ' ther Ministers, which would have follow'd it. ' For if Sir *William* had given it, not one Resident ' would ever have seen the *French* Ambassador with- ' out it; whereas two or three of them now did ' both him and Sir *William Temple*. That he was ' sure, if *France* understood it right, they would ' take an occasion to change it themselves, and to ' reap the first Profit, and all the Honour, as well ' as Pleasure, of seeing all the rest dance after

* Sir William Temple's *Letters*, Vol. II. p. 22. & seq.

them

‘ them both up and down, as their Leaders in a
 ‘ Country-Dance: but that, for his part, he had
 ‘ as lieve be lame as do so; and he could not tell why
 ‘ his Majesty should not think of being in the Head,
 ‘ both of the Affairs and Forms of Christendom, as
 ‘ well as any of his neighbour Kings.’

As to the main part of Sir William Temple’s Embassy, viz. the Guaranty of the late Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, upon the Report, that the Marquis De Castel-Rodrigo being recall’d from the Government of the Spanish-Netherlands, design’d to pass through England to Spain; Sir William, in the same Letter, answer’d the Lord-Keeper’s Desire, and wrote to him, what he judg’d fit to be propos’d to that Spanish Grandee. *I will, said he, give you my Opinion concerning our Affairs with Spain, tho I am likely enough to be prejudic’d in it, by so particular Acquaintance with the weakness of their present Conduct, and Division of their Counsels, as well as the Consequences of them; which are, want of Order in their Government, their Armies, their Revenue; and, I doubt at present, even of Genius in their Nation, which ever rises and falls, according to that of the Prince or Ministry: For, if Men see the way to rise, is by Worth and virtuous Qualities, the Genius of a Nation will run that way, and produce great * Subjects. If they can hope to do it by vicious Humours, by little Arts, by warm Pursuits every Man of his own Interests, the whole Spirit runs into those Courses; and perhaps the faster, from the propension of our Natures rather to Ill than to Good. — After all, I am of Opinion, that OUR present INTEREST, and that of all Christendom besides, in some measure, IS THE DEFENCE of SPAIN; and not only in Flanders, but IN ALL other PARTS, where it shall not be able to defend it self AGAINST THE POWER AND AMBITION*

* I take this to be a Gallicism, to express great Men.

OF FRANCE; from whence alone we have all our present Fears, and shall find our Dangers upon any further Growth. For if a great Accession should come to them in Navarre, Catalonia, Italy, during the Spanish King's Life, or upon his Death, as there will be in Lorrain after this old Duke's Life; we should find them more formidable and troublesome even in our Neighbourhood; as Nourishment taken in by one Part, increases Strength in all, if it be once digested. 'Tis true, if for want of Heat or Strength of Nature, it be not digested into the very Substance of the Body, it will grow weaker rather than stronger by it: as we see in Spain, the Spirit began to fail by the Weakness of their Kings and Ministers. For this reason, and for all those which formerly engag'd us so firmly to bear up France and Holland against the House of Austria, I think it is our common Interest to bear up Spain now against France; and the more, in respect of their being now lower than ever the others were, by reason of the King's tender Life, and the Distraction like to ensue on his Death, if their Affairs find no steady Support from their Neighbours. Now, if Sir William Temple was of this Opinion in the Year 1668, what would that great Statesman have said, had he liv'd to see Spain and the West-Indies yielded to the House of Bourbon, by a Treaty chiefly manag'd by English Ministers? If we were, continues Sir William Temple, what we have been, what we might be, and God knows why we are not, at home; I think our Interest were to enter singly into a Defensive League with Spain, and we might either preserve their Peace, or else hope to make a short War; and with such Advantages as might countervail what our Trade would suffer, and the Dutch grow, during the time of our being in War, and they in Peace. My reason for making in that case the League single, is, because we might thereby reap alone all the Advantages which Spain would be able to give for their Defence;

fence; which would be great, as low as they are, not only in point of Trade in their Wools and Logwood, but by great Pensions in yearly Quantities of Salt from Sardinia and other Parts; which is much beyond any French Salts, and would be the same as Money to his Majesty, considering what Quantities his Kingdoms spend. And besides, I doubt not they would offer us constant Payments of ready Money: and if we could make War abroad at their Charge, and without pressing too much the Subject at Home, or needing them at every turn; I know nothing were more glorious, nor perhaps more safe and advantageous for us, than to be in Action abroad; especially, if it were in Conjunction of Three against One, and not as we were lately, One against Three. — This we may be sure of, that the Spaniards will give more for our Defensive League, than for all others; will not much care for any others, so they may have ours: and, in short, will give for it whatever they are able. But the Question is, whether we are able to take so vigorous a Counsel, and I doubt not. Therefore the next would be to know, whether we are so, to enter into their Defence, jointly with Sweden; which would either awe the French into a continuance of the Peace, or else, without doubt, make the Party strong enough for the War: And in this case, we must be content to share with Sweden whatever Spain can any way give for the Purchase of their Defence; and where our Gains are less, the Consideration will be more, of what we may lose, or the Dutch gain in Trade, if a War should break out and last: For there would be no other Reflections, since the Swedes, I believe, would enter into the League upon such Terms as Spain could make them: And the Dutch would ask nothing better, than to see us all in War, and themselves in Peace, without Danger of the War ending in the Growth of the French Power. — The third way is entering into a Defensive League with Spain, Sweden and Holland; for in all Cases,

I suppose, we might reckon the Emperor, as far as that would signify. This, I think, were certainly to be desir'd, in what case soever we may be, either to accept or decline the other two. But the Ills in this are, First, the unlikelihood of Holland's engaging in it; for I could never, since my first Acquaintance here, find any Disposition towards it; and then the Incapacity of Spain to satisfy the Pretensions of Benefit from them, which we might all three pretend; for Holland would resolve to have a share, if we had any: so that the particular Advantage would grow only to Sweden, by certain Subsidies or Benefits in Trade from Spain; and we and Holland should content our selves with the certainty of preventing a War, by so powerful a League. As for matter of proposing to the Marquiss, I suppose he will know as well as we, that the Proposals ought to come from him, at least till he desires to know of us, what we demand upon a Defensive League; which is certainly the Desire of Spain, either with us singly, or in Conjunction with the rest; and were the more to be wish'd, for the preventing the Spaniards from falling into A DESPERATE COUNSEL OF AGREEING WITH FRANCE, and quitting Flanders to them, for Advantage on the other side; and a good deal for Revenge of their NEIGHBOURS PRESSING SO HARD UPON THEM, BY A DISADVANTAGEOUS PEACE; and afterwards Irresolution of maintaining that it self, by a Defensive League. If the King should think fit to endeavour the disposing of the Dutch to enter into it (which for my part I think they are engag'd in by the Peace at Aix) I should make some Trials, and give Account of what I find: for I fear we are not growing fast enough, into a Posture of making these Paces alone; at least, by what I could observe, or hear, during my short stay in England; which was but too much entertain'd with Ill-bodings and Complaints. But, *Quid tristis Querimoniam si non supplicio culpa reciditur? Quid le-*

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ges sine moribus vanæ proficiunt? Without great Virtue and Steadiness in the Government, and Resolution of going through with whatsoever is thought fit and just, whereby Men may see that the only way to rise, is to deserve it; all TAMPERING OF FAC-TIONS, TAKING OFF PERSONS, and SOOTH-ING OF PARTIES, is but PATCHING UP AN ILL HOUSE: I mean, not Virtue, in a peaking formal Presbyterian sense; but that which the greatest Nations of old so politickly favour'd and renown'd; which consisted in those Qualities that made Men fit for the Service of their Princes and Countries, by strong and healthful Dispositions, both of Bodies and Minds. What superior Genius suggested these wholesom Maxims to Sir William Temple! Did he in this barely animadvert on the Vices of that Reign; or did he foresee, with the same Precision as Mathematicians do Eclipses, that after the Re-volution of near two Solar * Cycles, Tricking, Bare-fac'd Lying, Calumny, Debauchery, and the turning the most sacred and serious things into Ridicule, would be the chief Qualifications of some Politicians, and the readiest way to Preferment?

As to the Amendments of the *Marine Treaty* between *England* and *Holland*, concerning which Mr. *Williamson* transmitted to Sir William Temple, the Resolutions of the foreign Committee; Sir William fell into the Debate of that Affair, in all its Particulars, with Monsieur *De Wit*: and ha-ving agreed upon most of them, he wrote † to the Earl of *Arlington*, That *De Wit's* Exceptions to the rest seem'd so reasonable, that he must be furnish'd with Arguments to maintain the Points against him, if

* The Solar Cycle, according to the Julian Calendar, consists of 28 Years.

† See Sir W. Temple's Letters, Vol. II. p. 31.

they must be insisted on; for, he confess'd, he could find none of his own. Sir William had also several Conferences about the *Flag* with Monsieur *De Wit*; who seem'd to have a friendly Composition of that matter much at heart, believing no Quarrel could happen between the two Nations, if that Occasion were once out of the way. He therefore highly applauded the Lord-Keeper's Inclination, to bring it to some certainty; and desir'd Sir William to offer to his Lordship, as most advantageous to a good Issue in it, *That the Expedients he (De Wit) propos'd, his Lordship would first mention as his own; because whatever was offer'd from the Dutch, was commonly either suspected or despis'd, even for its being so.* Sir William fail'd not communicating * these Overtures to my Lord-Keeper; and, at the same time, told him, 'how much he was pleas'd to find 'he had the Honour of agreeing with his Lordship in all Points, particularly about the Benefits of a *Quadruple League*; being the only thing 'that could crown the great Work his Majesty 'had undertaken, of settling the Peace of *Christianity*, and giving a stop to the *French Career*, 'which ten Months before was in a fair way to 'over-run all, one after another; and still hung 'like a Cloud over all their Neighbours heads, 'leaving every one in doubt, when, and where it 'would fall.' Till that he compass'd, added Sir William, *I shall hardly be secure of Spain's not trinkling, at one time or other, with France, for the remainder of Flanders, at least upon such a Revolution as would happen at that King's Death, if not before; nor of the French Party's getting ground enough again in Sweden, to turn the Biass of that Crown towards the French Interests, by the Offers of Money, which can*

* See his Letters, Vol. II. p. 46. This Letter bears date Nov. 2. N. S.

best be made them on that side: whereas by such a League Spain would find their Account in keeping Flanders, and not fear any War, which the French Pretensions there might engage them in. Sweden would find theirs, by some certain Subsidies from Spain, even in time of Peace; and by Assurance from them and us, of greater in case of a War. Holland would be broken off from all return into any new Measures with France, and be forc'd to follow the common Interests and Counsels of the Alliance. Spain and Sweden would be both hindred from entring into any separate Concert or Treaty without us and Holland. The Emperor and Princes of the Empire, and Duke of Lorrain, would be glad to be admitted into such an Alliance: And his Majesty would remain Head and Director of a League, which would have the Glory of preserving the Peace of Christendom, and CHECKING and bounding the FRENCH GREATNESS, at a time when no other Prince durst look it in the face. And in case of a War breaking out from France, in spite of all these Defences, I suppose, considering the Strength of the Alliance, and the Temper of our People at Home bent wholly upon these Counsels, his Majesty would have rather Reason to desire, than to apprehend it. I conceive the way of effecting such a League, must be to make a Draught of it with Monsieur De Wit, if he can be finally dispos'd to it; and that with all the Secrecy in the World: and to proceed in it, as near as is possible, with all the Fairness and Equality, on the Consideration of each Party's Interests, which is the only way to facilitate such Negotiations. And whenever we and Monsieur De Wit are agreed in it, then for his Majesty to take upon him the proposing it to Spain, and trying what private Advantages may be gain'd from that Crown, in consideration of his both Proposing and Effecting a matter so much to their Advantage. — All that seems to be against such a Counsel, is his Majesty's present want of Treasure; which
render

renders him in a Condition very unfit to enter into any Action abroad, by provoking France. As to that; First, the end of this Counsel is Peace, and not War; and seems, indeed, the only way to secure it, by letting France see, they cannot find their Account in a War: for till they see that, they will never leave the Designs of it. Then, instead of provoking France, I should think this would make them much warmer in their Offers and Applications towards us, when they see, that without gaining us, they are absolutely bound to the Peace: For to say the Truth, our falling, at any time, into the French Interests, is the ready way to a War abroad; wherein, it may be, we shall not have any present share, but shall pay for our present Quiet with dear Interest of the utmost Danger, after two or three Years time. Besides, tho our Condition is ill towards the Support of a War, 'tis the most imprudent thing we can do, perhaps, to own it, if we intend to continue any Commerce * abroad: whereas, looking our just Debts, both to our Neighbours and our selves, boldly in the Face, will, as it does sometimes with a Merchant, hold up our Credit so high, that with good future Management, and the strength of that, we may help to re-establish our Estate; but, if not, nothing can keep us up so much, as being closely link'd with several other Traders of better Stock, who will by that means become engag'd not to let us sink. And in case his Majesty's Necessities should keep him from furnishing his Part towards the Support of any Action attending this Quadruple Alliance, 'tis not to be imagin'd that Spain and Holland would not do their utmost towards his Supply, rather than lose his Assistance, and leave him under the Temptation of falling into any new Measures with France. After all this, let his Majesty make what Paces he please, either bold or tender, in the way he is (for I cannot think of a Change in that,

* He means Intercourse and Correspondence as well as Trading with foreign States.

in the present Circumstances) I know nothing will be so necessary, with the Foresight either of Peace or War, as for his Majesty not to be found, the next Spring, without any Money in his Treasury, or Credit to raise it speedily and easily, without relying wholly upon his Parliament's Supplies, by any new Burdens upon the People: for that can hardly be done without long, and perhaps cross Debates in the House, which lessen his Majesty's Credit with his Neighbours, more than the Supplies granted can raise it. And besides, after so great Payments as the Kingdom has continu'd ever since his Majesty's Resolution, especially during the last three Years, together with the great Diminution of Money and Trade during the War; I question whether any thing considerable can be rais'd in general upon the People, without some reasonable Occasions of Aversion and Complaints. But nothing, they say, is more the part of a weak Understanding, and unfit for Business, than to propose and enlarge upon Inconveniencies, without so much as offering Remedies; and therefore I shall say, that two Proposals which have been already afoot, are very considerable towards this end, viz. First, the selling of small Quit-Rents, where the Sum is hardly worth the Charge of Raising; and yet by reason of the Trouble to the Tenant by them, they will yield Five or Six, if not Ten Years Purchase more than greater Rents. If this Counsel be tied up to these Circumstances, I think it very advantageous, and as prejudicial, if it be suffer'd to go beyond them. 2dly, The selling of the Chimney-Money would, I suppose, be easily granted by the Parliament; would take off the Tax, of all others most distastful to the People; and if sold at easy and moderate Rates, would be taken kindly of the People, purchas'd readily, and yield a very great Sum; and the most equally rais'd that could be, holding a proportion with every Man's Estate. 3dly, A reducing of the Interest which the King pays, from Ten to Eight in the Hundred, with which the Bankers may very well be

con-

contented, and must be, I suppose, if the King pleases, and finds a Course to make them see their Security cannot fail them: for Two per Cent. Gain is, of all reason, enough for them, where the Security they receive is as good as what they give; as it is in this case. For the King's Security to the Banker is, in effect, the Banker's Security to his private Creditors; and whenever one fails, the other must. Now the Bankers pay but six per Cent. at most for Inland Mony, and less for some: and I have reason to doubt, a very great Trade is driven with them from Holland, by Dutch Merchants, who turn their Mony through their Hands, encourag'd by the great Interest they gain there, in lieu of so small here; so that the States have lately refus'd to take the value of Twenty Thousand Pounds Sterling of the Duke of Luxemburgh's Mony, at Two and a Half per Cent. and Three is the utmost that any Man makes. And if the King, by granting good Security, punctual Payments, and the Reputation of good Order in his Revenue, were gotten into Credit; I do not see why he might not, upon occasion, take up what he pleas'd at Six per Cent, as well as the States do here at Two and a Half. 4thly, To enable the King, upon any Occasion, to give better Security, I know nothing would do so much, as if the Parliament could be dispos'd to settle the Customs upon him for one Year after his Death, as they are already for his Life; but that being an uncertain Term, Mony will not readily, or without exaction of Interest, be lent upon that which may fail next Day: And yet I conceive it to be the largest part of the Revenue, and in all other Points the most certain. 5thly, If any thing were set on foot in Parliament, towards an Act of Resumption of Grants of Crown-Lands, from a certain Time, Use might at least be made of it, towards drawing such Grantees to a voluntary Composition, of holding their Grants at the Rent of a fourth or fifth part of the real Value to the Crown, in consideration of having such Grants con-

firm'd

Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE Bar. 113

firm'd by Act of Parliament, or the King's Engagement, to consent to nothing to their Prejudice, after their Consent to such a Rent and Tenure. 6thly, A View may be made, at least, of what has been gained by any Grants from his Majesty, above what were really his Majesty's Intentions to grant: As where the King intended to give 300 l. a Year, and perhaps 7 or 800, or 1000 l. is made of it: And the same of Sums of Money, out of certain Benefits granted, towards the raising them: And what is found to be beyond the Intention of the King's Grant, to be repaid. Many smaller Particulars might perhaps be thought of: all which, with what has been mention'd, will be made valuable by a good Order in the Management, and a stanch Hand in Grants hereafter, till the King be as much before-hand, as he is behind-hand now. I have transcrib'd so much of this Letter, because it is, of all others, a noble Monument of Sir William Temple's deep Knowledg, both of foreign and domestick Affairs; and contains such wise Maxims, particularly, in relation to the First, as may be propos'd for a fix'd Standard of *British* Politicks. But, it seems the Court of *England* was by this time returning apace into *French* Measures, which were ever, and always will be fatal to this Nation.

To proceed: The Baron *D'Isola* being come to the *Hague* on the 17th of *January* 1669, N. S. (to take care of the Concerns of the Empire) Sir William Temple was, the next Day, in Conference with him upon the Subject of his Journey, which he profess'd to be a Desire of advancing the Treaty of *Guaranty*. The two Themes * he discours'd upon, were, first, to make it evident that *France* would open the War again in the Spring, and within six Weeks attack either *Burgundy* or *Luxemburgh*; and on the other side, that the Coun-

* See Sir W. Temple's Letters, Vol. II. p. 58. & seq.

fels of *Spain*, as they were now compos'd, if they saw not a solid and firm Assistance from their Neighbours, would fall into the easiest way of ending that matter, by giving up *Flanders* upon the best Terms they could. He added, ' That they were ' as a sick Man, that either would not or could not ' help themselves, and were so to be dealt with ' by those that were so deeply concern'd in their ' Loss, as the *States* in particular seem'd to be: ' And that after the disarming of the Duke of ' *Lorrain*, which *France* had now resolv'd, and the ' seizing of *Burgundy*, which would be their next ' Work; it would be impossible to maintain a War ' in what remain'd of *Flanders*, when they could ' do it no longer by Diversion, after these two ' Inlets into *France* were stop'd up.' From this he fell into the Business of the *Swedish* Subsidies; and complain'd of the Hardships put upon *Spain*, who, he said, had less Reason to pay for the late Peace than *France*; since the *Guaranty* offer'd would be equal to both, and the Gain of the War had been all on the *French* side. That for his part, he could trust little in any Treaty, where the Obligations were not reciprocal: and when the *Guaranty* was given, he did not know whether the *Dutch* would not be still apt to sacrifice any new Conquests *France* should make, to any unreasonable Peace, provided the Danger grew not nearer them: And he had the more reason to believe it, by a Resolution he was assur'd of among the States of *Holland*, to treat with *France* about diverting their Attempts upon *Flanders*, in case of the King of *Spain*'s Death, and leaving all the rest of that Monarchy open to his Pretensions: And, in the conclusion, urg'd the necessity of an Offensive and Defensive League, or *Quadruple* Alliance, into which the Emperor and Empire would readily enter. Sir *William Temple*, who had already made the same Overture to the

†

English

English Court, but had not found them inclin'd to pursue that Counsel, told the Baron *D'Isola*, ' That the friendliest Office he could do him at his Arrival, was to tell him, what Men, and what Resolutions he would find at the *Hague*, to the end he might not lose his Steps, by their being, at first, ill directed. That, for their own Interest in the Preservation of *Flanders*, they thought they understood it as well as any other of their Neighbours; and needed no new Lights in that Prospect, nor new Motions to engage in its Defence, if they might hope to succeed. That this depended upon *Spain's* good Conduct and Provisions in *Flanders*, and upon their satisfying *Sweden*. That without *Sweden's* Engagement, *Holland* could do nothing considerable in their Defence, lying open to the *French* on the one side, and the Bishop of *Munster* on the other; and without *Holland* he might assure himself the King (of *England*) would never interest himself in their Quarrel, but seek his Measures some way else: so that the Strength of their whole Assistance depended upon the engaging of *Sweden*, and that upon Payment of the Subsidies. That he (Sir William) would tell him freely, he believ'd *Holland* might be induc'd to give a general *Guaranty*, according to the Article of the Treaty of *Aix*; and that if his Majesty and *Sweden* would join with them in it, he thought it was the cheapest Bargain that ever any Crown had made. That he believ'd a *Guaranty* without reciprocal Engagements, more to the Advantage of *Spain*, and less to that of the Allies, than a *Defensive League* which they so much desired: but yet, the Conjunction was such, and the Regards that entred into it, as he could assure him, he would fail in the Pursuit of the last; and he believ'd, might succeed if he could content himself with the other. That if nothing else

' were in the way, there was not time enough for
 ' it, and therefore he would advise him to lose none
 ' about it: That, for what should happen after
 ' the King of *Spain's* Death, he was confident nei-
 ' ther the King of *England*, nor the States would
 ' enter into it; but leave those Considerations to
 ' the Season, in which they should arise. That if
 ' *Spain* was resolv'd to destroy themselves, *that* was
 ' a thing beyond all our Prevention and Remedy;
 ' and so only to be bemoan'd, and no more to be
 ' thought on: but if they would be preserv'd, they
 ' knew the Price, which was the *Swedish* Subsidies,
 ' and could best tell, whether it were worth it or
 ' no.' This, Sir *William Temple* thought, was the
 best way of dealing with a Person, *who* (as he af-
 terwards acquainted * the Earl of *Arlington*) came
 with Hopes of effecting much by his Eloquence and great
 Parts, and by making others see more of their own In-
 terests, than they were willing to do: And besides, he
 thought it fittest for a Business, which it was ne-
 cessary to bring to some short Issue. Nor did the
 Baron seem to resent it, but said; *Well, if you are*
certain the Dutch will not be brought to a League with
us, we must think of what we can have, and not what
we cannot: adding, that what remain'd to be done,
 was to draw up the Form of a Guaranty, and send
 it to the *Constable of Castile*; and let him know,
 that upon Satisfaction of the *Swedish* Subsidies that
 should be ready for him, and without it neither
England nor *Holland* had more to say. Sir *Wil-*
liam told him, *He thought he was in the right way;*
hop'd he would succeed in it; and assur'd him of the
Endeavours of England and Holland to draw Sweden
into the same Measures, and persuade them, if need
were, to some little Ease in the Terms of Payment,
 The Baron ask'd the *English* Ambassador, in case

* Ubi supra.

the Subsidies were not paid, and the *Guaranty* given, and *France* should next *March* attack *Burgundy* and *Luxemburgh*, what his Excellency thought *England* and *Holland* would do? To which Sir *William* return'd a short Answer, That he ever thought the King and his *Allies*, would do upon all *Occasions*, what they had engag'd. The Baron would have had Sir *William Temple* join with him, in drawing up an Instrument of *Guaranty*; but Sir *William*, who had a mind to excuse himself, at least till he had receiv'd new Instructions, advis'd him to propose it to *Monsieur De Wit*, with whom he had an Hour assign'd upon their parting. In the next Interview Sir *William* had with the Baron, the latter assur'd him, there were Two Hundred Thousand Crowns ready for the Payment of the *Swedish* Subsidies: Of which Sir *William* having inform'd the Earl of *Arlington*, his Lordship wrote him what follows.

I Am glad * to see, that at your first Entrance with *Monsieur le Baron D'Isola*, you have worried him out of the Vision he carried thither, to persuade the States and you to a Quadruple Alliance; or, as they have christen'd it in Spain, an Offensive and Defensive League with us. The Testimony the World has justly given of his Wit, makes him think it sufficient to prevail in any Subject: But your last shews him come to some Reason, and that there are 200000 Crowns already in hand for the satisfaction of the Swede. I hope a few Days will make him confess all. Before this, I assure my self you have his Majesty's Instructions upon this Subject; and the Satisfaction of seeing, that you knew our Mind before we told it to you; which I observ'd to his Majesty, and his Ministers, much to your Advan-

* Sir William Temple's Letters, Vol. II. p. 326. N. B. This is not to be found among the Earl of Arlington's Letters.

tage. I have also this * Day, in the Presence of Mr. Secretary Trevor, communicated to some of the East-India Company, the Paper given you by the States upon their Affairs, with the Amendment Monsieur De Wit had sent to Amsterdam to make it more compleat. They seem at first View to believe it comes up to their Desires in substance; but have desired it, to see whether it be rightly worded, with a Promise to return it to you again by the next Post, if by that time we can agree what Form to give it. — As to what concerns us both, I have little to say; I mean, I am this Evening too much off the Hooks to reply so obligingly to you, as you have spoken to me upon the Probability of my devolving my Correspondence with you to Sir John Trevor. I cannot but tell you what you know already, that you are under his District, and must therefore expect from him all the formal Dispatches; but shall never be eas'd of my particular ones, till you give me Cause; which I know you will never do, to love and value you less. Besides, utrumque nostrum incredibili modo consentit Astrum: And I am resolv'd never to leave you, till I have made you able to make your own Fortunes; for which you have Credit enough already, if you had also Place for it: And, believe me, without Flattery, you have enough of the former to deserve Envy, which you must learn betimes to live with. — For my self, believe it, there's no Man living loves and values you more, nor can be with more Truth, your most affectionate and most humble Servant, ARLINGTON.

But it seems these were only Court-Compliments, for the Earl of Arlington did either by this time, or soon after, pursue different Counsels from those he knew were agreeable to Sir William Temple's Thoughts and Judgment; as appears by the follow-

* January 19. 1668, O. S.

ing Letter of * Sir William to the Lord-Keeper, dated April 2. 1669, N. S.

MY LORD,

‘ UPON a late Conversation with Monsieur De
 ‘ Wit, tho I had some reason to be surpriz’d,
 ‘ yet I think I had none to take any notice of it;
 ‘ but am very sure I can have no reason for doing
 ‘ it to any other Person but your Lordship, of
 ‘ whose Friendship I have had so many Testimo-
 ‘ nies, and with whom I have liv’d in so much
 ‘ Confidence ever since our first Acquaintance. The
 ‘ present Subject is so *delicate*, that I can hardly
 ‘ tell how to touch it my self, or to trust it in any
 ‘ other Hands but your Lordship’s, who will better
 ‘ judg whether any Use may be made of it, and I
 ‘ am sure will make no ill one. Nor do I expect
 ‘ there can be other, than to gain some light in a
 ‘ Matter wherein I am wholly ignorant; and per-
 ‘ haps your Lordship may not have been curious
 ‘ enough to observe so near; and which ’tis yet very
 ‘ necessary for us both, to be as well inform’d as
 ‘ we can.

‘ Monsieur De Wit came to me, as he said, upon
 ‘ a particular Visit, and as a Friend, not a Minister:
 ‘ but the Occasion of it, at present, he would con-
 ‘ fess, was to acquaint me with a Conversation he
 ‘ had lately with Monsieur Puffendorf, a Swedish A-
 ‘ gent, who pass’d this way from *Paris*, to his own
 ‘ Country. That he had been some time at the
 ‘ *French* Court since our Measures taken by the *Triple-*
 ‘ *Alliance*, and the Negotiations set on foot with
 ‘ the *Spaniards* in consequence of them. That the
 ‘ Ministers in *France* had taken much pains to per-
 ‘ suade him, that *Sweden* would find their Account
 ‘ very ill in pursuing those Measures. That *Spain*

* See Sir W. Temple’s *Letters*, Vol. II. p. 64. & seq.

‘ would

' would fail them, in what was pretended from
 ' them; and that *Holland* alone would not be a-
 ' ble to support them, or the Measures they had
 ' rashly taken. And to make this good, the Mini-
 ' sters there had at length told him (but as a Se-
 ' cret only, for the Service and Information of the Court
 ' of Sweden) that *England* would certainly fail
 ' them; and was already chang'd in the Course of
 ' all those Counsels they had taken with *Holland* and
 ' Sweden, tho they did not think fit to let any
 ' thing of it appear; and the Secret was yet in
 ' very few hands, either in the *French* or the *Eng-*
 ' lish Court. That when this Agent seem'd incre-
 ' dulous of all this Story, and to suspect that it
 ' was *Artificial*, and only intended to give an Um-
 ' brage or false Light to the Court of *Sweden*, and
 ' thereby help them to make the first false Step;
 ' Monsieur *Turenne*, at last, shew'd him a Letter
 ' from Monsieur *Colbert* their Ambassador (in *Eng-*
 ' land) wherein he gave an Account of the happy
 ' Successes he had met with in his Negotiations at
 ' our Court; of the good Dispositions there, and
 ' especially those of some of our chief Ministers:
 ' upon which he added these words, * *ET JE*
 ' *LEUR AY ENFIN FAIT SENTIR TOUTE*
 ' *L'ETENDUE DE LA LIBERALITE DE SA*
 ' *MAJESTE.*

' Here Monsieur *De Wit* stop'd, as if he had no
 ' more to say, and with a very equal Countenance;
 ' tho I found he had observ'd mine very narrowly
 ' all the while he was talking, as well as when he
 ' ended. For my part, tho I thought the Story
 ' and the Circumstances very odd, and knew not
 ' what to make of it; yet, I believe, I look'd In-
 ' nocent, and thereby as unconcern'd as he did. I told

* That is, *And I have at last made them sensible of the whole
 Extent of his Majesty's Liberality.*

‘ him, I had reason to be surpriz’d at what he had
 ‘ said; but did not know, whether we had either
 ‘ of us any, to put much Weight, or draw any
 ‘ great Consequence from all this Story. That there
 ‘ might be Artifice in it on several hands: That
 ‘ some of those it had pass’d thro might deceive,
 ‘ and others be deceiv’d: That there might be
 ‘ Mistake in Men’s Apprehensions, in what pass’d
 ‘ in Talk, and the Relations too: That Monsieur
 ‘ Colbert might say a great deal to value his Ser-
 ‘ vices to his Court, and more than he thought
 ‘ himself: That the *Swedish* Agent might be made
 ‘ partial in *France* to their Interests, and wish his
 ‘ Crown still in them, as most beneficial to the
 ‘ Ministers there, that were so engag’d: That it
 ‘ was at least artificial in the *French* Court, to em-
 ‘ ploy Monsieur *Turenne* to give this notice to the
 ‘ *Swedish* Agent, and shew him Monsieur Colbert’s
 ‘ Letter, which had been more proper for a Secre-
 ‘ tary of State; but that it was likely Monsieur
 ‘ *Turenne*’s shewing it, and believing it, would have
 ‘ more Credit and more Effect in the Court of
 ‘ *Sweden*. That farther than this, I had no-
 ‘ thing to say upon it, besides protesting to him
 ‘ upon my *Honour and Truth*, that I knew nothing
 ‘ of it; nor had I reason, by any thing I heard
 ‘ from *England*, to suspect any more than I knew.
 ‘ That I had told him, upon the Negotiation of our
 ‘ last Alliance, and his Suspicions of our *Inconstancy*
 ‘ in *England*, what I truly thought of the Disposi-
 ‘ tions and Intentions, both of his Majesty and his
 ‘ Ministers. That I knew, and all Men confess’d,
 ‘ their Interests were so deep in it, as well as the
 ‘ Humour of the whole Kingdom, that it was hard
 ‘ to think I could be deceiv’d. That, however, I
 ‘ could answer for no Man but my self; and that I
 ‘ would, that if ever these Measures were broken, it
 ‘ should not be by me; nor would I ever have any part

‘ in destroying what I had the Honour of Building, so
 ‘ much for the Safety, as I conceiv’d, of both our Nati-
 ‘ ons, and the rest of Christendom; and with so much
 ‘ Glory and Applause to his Majesty’s Counsels, up-
 ‘ on that Occasion. That I was still of the same
 ‘ Mind, and had no more to say.

‘ Monsieur De Wit smil’d, and said, what he had
 ‘ told me was but as a Friend, and in Conversa-
 ‘ tion; and left me to make what use I pleas’d of
 ‘ it, or none, if I thought fit, without drawing it
 ‘ into further Consequence. That he had been
 ‘ very *suspicious*, when he first enter’d into the Mi-
 ‘ nistry, but had been so often deceiv’d by it, that
 ‘ he had cur’d himself of that Quality. That he
 ‘ knew very well, it had been said among some fo-
 ‘ reign Ministers here, some Months since, *Qu’il*
 ‘ *faut avouer qu’il y a eu pour neuf mois du plus grand*
 ‘ *Ministere du Monde en Angleterre* *; as if they
 ‘ believ’d some Change had befallen our Counsels
 ‘ before the last Year ended. That for his part,
 ‘ who went to the substantial as near as he could,
 ‘ and the plainest way, he had made but one Reflec-
 ‘ tion, and kept that as much as he could to him-
 ‘ self: which was, *That after my Embassy hither had*
 ‘ *been resolv’d in England, to support and improve*
 ‘ *the Ends of our last Alliances, and to engage the*
 ‘ *Emperor and chief Princes of the Empire, as well as*
 ‘ *Spain, in the Support of them; he could not but*
 ‘ *wonder to find Me engag’d, of late, by my Orders*
 ‘ *from Court, so warmly in a Chicane, about such a*
 ‘ *Trifle, as that of Surinam; and in so many eager*
 ‘ *Disputes about the Pretensions of our East-India Com-*
 ‘ *pany, which were fitter for Merchants than for Mi-*
 ‘ *nisters: and look’d as if we had them more at heart,*
 ‘ *than the pursuit of those publick Interests that were*

* That is, That it must be confess’d, there has been for nine Months
 the greatest Ministry in the World in England.

Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE Bar. 123

‘ thought so necessary for Christendom at my first
 ‘ coming over. But after all, for his part, he would
 ‘ go on constantly upon the foot of our last Alliance,
 ‘ as the best ground of our common Safety; and
 ‘ believ’d the States would do so too, till his Ma-
 ‘ jesty or his Ministers should let them plainly see
 ‘ he had chang’d his Measures. And with this,
 ‘ rising up, he seem’d not to expect any Answer,
 ‘ but to go away in very good Humour. And
 ‘ I was not very desirous to draw our Discourse
 ‘ into more length; and so it ended.’

Whatever Strefs the Lord-Keeper and Sir *William Temple* laid upon Monsieur *De Wit*’s Information, the Event shew’d it to be but too well grounded. However, the Earl of *Arlington* either dissembled, or was not yet privy to the Measures the Court of *England* was at this time concerting with *France*. For in a Letter * he wrote (on the 9th of *July* 1669, O. S.) to Sir *William Temple*, after having told him, *He could not give himself any hopes of seeing the Business of the East-India Company well concluded, the Company professing they had better be left as they were, with their Pretensions fair and entire, than have them blasted for ever with a bad Conclusion*: He added, ‘ In the mean time I have some Satisfaction
 ‘ in seeing your Letters revive our Hopes of the
 ‘ Arrival of the *Spanish* Mony, for the Satisfaction
 ‘ of the *Swedes*. *Spain* has fairly ventur’d the loss
 ‘ of the Fruit of our *Triple-Alliance*, and they seem
 ‘ thereby to think (if at least they do think at all)
 ‘ that we are more concern’d in the Support of it
 ‘ than they: And they are not much in the wrong
 ‘ therein, for which reason, as soon as *Sweden* is
 ‘ ready for it, by having touch’d their present
 ‘ Mony, and declar’d themselves secure of their fu-

* See the Earl of *Arlington*’s Letters, Vol. I. p. 408.

ture Payments, You will find us as ready as we ever profess'd to be, to enter into the Concert of Forces to support our common Alliance; of the Materials for which, I suppose, you have thought, tho yet you say nothing of them.' In answer to this, Sir William Temple wrote the following Letter to the Earl of Arlington.

My Lord, *

I Am to acknowledg your Lordship's of July the ninth, and have but too much reason to agree with you in despairing to see this matter of the *Marine Article* brought to any fair Conclusion, about which I writ at large by the last Post, to Sir John Trevor; and will tell your Lordship more in private, that I very much fear our *East-India* Merchants have some further meaning in it than we yet understand, and than they desire we should. For having had this whole Business run through my Head with more Thought and Application than ever any other did before; I could not but observe many several Inequalities in their Proceedings, and make some Reflections upon them.

As, First, that it began immediately upon the finishing our Alliances with the *Dutch*; in which none could detract in the least from the Glory abroad, and popular Applause at home, of the King's Counsels, but by declaiming against this *Marine Treaty*; tho at first it was only upon the Inequality of the *Passports*. When that Point was easily accorded by Monsieur *De Wit*, our Merchants added another, about the Definition of a *besieged Place*, which was all their Exceptions against the Treaty it self, could amount to. But when there were some Hopes given by Monsieur

* See Sir W. Temple's Letters, Vol. II. p. 72. dated July 26. N. S.

‘ *De Wit*, in his Letters to me, that this likewise
 ‘ might be surmounted; they added several other
 ‘ Articles untouch’d in the *Marine Treaty*. And
 ‘ when they saw all were like to be gain’d here,
 ‘ but that one of a Free Trade with People not in
 ‘ subjection, and of passing Forts (which Sir *George*
 ‘ *Downing* had found here was an invincible Point)
 ‘ they then declar’d, that without this, all the rest
 ‘ were worth nothing: and upon this said, they
 ‘ have left our Treaty a-ground now for about eight
 ‘ Months past. When we begun first to struggle
 ‘ out of it, they said, They only aim’d at prevent-
 ‘ ing some Innovations, which had been of late
 ‘ Years practis’d by the *Dutch*, against the ancient
 ‘ Usages in those Parts, and many others of the
 ‘ same kind, which they had reason to fear: Where-
 ‘ upon the *Dutch* desir’d the particular Instances
 ‘ of what they had either felt, or thought they
 ‘ had occasion to fear; that so they might redress
 ‘ us, in particular, and understand us, in general.
 ‘ Our Merchants instanc’d in *Cochin* and *Cananor*;
 ‘ and, I think, one other Place, which Monsieur
 ‘ *De Wit* said, was not at all to the case, but to
 ‘ another, provided for, by the defining of a be-
 ‘ sieged Place: so that I was forc’d by them here,
 ‘ to press still for Instances by several Letters, till
 ‘ the Merchants, at last, sent a long angry Paper,
 ‘ with very many Recapitulations of things past;
 ‘ and which the *Dutch* said, had been debated and
 ‘ agreed in former Treaties; and therefore still de-
 ‘ sir’d to know, which of the Particulars named
 ‘ we thought applicable to the present Question.
 ‘ Upon which I receiv’d Answer, That the Practice
 ‘ of the *Dutch*, against which they desir’d to provide,
 ‘ was but beginning: That they could not, or that it
 ‘ was to to purpose to give particular Instances, their
 ‘ Apprehensions being general, of what the *Dutch* in-
 ‘ tended to impose upon us: and that, in short, what
 ‘ we

‘ we desir’d was for *Prevention*, rather than *Remedy*;
‘ which, they said, made it much harder in the Dutch
‘ to deny us.

‘ After this, Monsieur *De Wit* and I concerted an
‘ Article between us, to propose to our Principals,
‘ on either side; and which, I confess, I thought
‘ comprehended our meaning, as I understood it by
‘ the Letters I receiv’d from your Lordship, and
‘ the King’s other Ministers: which tho it was im-
‘ mediately refus’d at *Amsterdam*, as liable to the
‘ Interpretation they so much fear’d, yet was like-
‘ wise rejected by our Merchants too, and another
‘ sent over, yet stronger than the first, in those
‘ Parts, wherein the *Dutch* were most sensible;
‘ tho your Lordship seem’d to think, the Article
‘ I had transmitted, would reach our Aim, till you
‘ propos’d it to them. Upon the new Debates we
‘ engag’d in, arrives the News of what we had suf-
‘ fer’d at *Macassar*; which our Merchants made to
‘ be a formidable Instance in the Business depend-
‘ ing; and of far more Consequence than all they
‘ apprehended by *Dutch* Forts and Passes; and
‘ therefore immediately presented the King with
‘ their Demand of *Restitution*, together with some
‘ other Particulars which we were fain to disown
‘ immediately, as against an express Article of
‘ the Treaty of *Breda*. And I had the Blame of
‘ proposing all their Demands to the *Dutch*, tho
‘ the Paper of them was sent to me without any
‘ distinction.

‘ So soon as the Point of *Macassar* was yielded
‘ us, which I thought would prove the most dif-
‘ ficult of any, as of most Importance, and was,
‘ I am sure, for a great while the most contest-
‘ ed; and after the Project of a general Article
‘ was gain’d from the *Dutch* (against all their for-
‘ mer Resolutions) which was grounded upon these
‘ two Points, That we desire no Innovations, and
‘ will

will make no particular Instances or Complaints,
 in which they have ever offer'd us Redress: Our
 Merchants, seeing the matter draw near a fair
 Issue, now seem resolv'd to end all with these two
 Answers; *That their Restitution to Macassar* (as
 Sir John Trevor writes) *will be too dear bought, by*
such an Article as shall confirm upon us all the Inju-
ries we have complain'd of, by Forts, and Passes, and
Treaties too. Whereas the Article, as 'tis pro-
 pos'd by the *Dutch* (however defective) does not
 extend to any Treaties to come, but only to the
 past: Nor do the *Dutch* desire to sell us *Macassar*
 at the Price of any such Article; but had much
 rather restore it to us upon concluding the Treaty,
 without any such Article at all: Nor do I know
 yet of the Injuries, in particular, we have already
 complain'd of, either by Forts, Passes, or Trea-
 ties, besides this of *Macassar*; but contrary, have
 always been told, what we desir'd was rather for
Prevention than *Remedy*. But next they say (as
 your Lordship tells me) *they had rather be left as*
they are, with their Pretensions fair and entire, than
have them blasted for ever with a bad Conclusion:
 Whereas no Conclusion they now make upon
 what we have gain'd, and the Redress of what
 they complain'd of in the *Marine Treaty* (tho'
 without this contested Article) but will leave
 them and their Pretensions in the same Condition
 they were before. The same Liberty still re-
 maining upon the last Article of the *Marine Treaty*,
 to appoint Commissioners, and alter or add any
 thing, when both Parties shall agree; and will be
 but like taking so much by Advance, upon ac-
 count of a greater Debt. So that I am apt to con-
 clude from all these Observations, That *they who*
influence our Merchants in this Prosecution, either
have no meaning this Treaty should end fairly, and
so they put it obstinately upon that single Point, and

' in that Form which they know will never be granted;
 ' or else, they aim at gaining Occasion of raising new
 ' Disputes with the Dutch, whenever they find a Con-
 ' juncture for it; there seeming some Reason for the
 ' Dutch Opinion, that agreeing upon an Article as
 ' ours propose it, we may fall into new Contests
 ' upon the Extent and Interpretation of it, when-
 ' ever we please. If this last end be in the bot-
 ' tom of this Business, and it be taken up or coun-
 ' tenanc'd by his Majesty or his Ministers upon
 ' Reason of State, and we make our Provisions, and
 ' take all our Measures accordingly; for ought I
 ' know it is a wise, and may prove an honourable
 ' Counsel in time; at least, *if the present State of*
 ' *Affairs in Christendom should change by any sudden*
 ' *or unexpected Revolution.* But if our Merchants,
 ' or those who influence them in this matter,
 ' mean no such thing as a Conclusion of the Treaty;
 ' but only by the depending of such Disputes, to
 ' leave an *Unkindness* and *Weakness* in our Alliance,
 ' which may in time shake the Foundations of it,
 ' and make way for *new Measures* on one side or
 ' other, which will in time prove destructive to
 ' both: I cannot but interpret this as *the Effect of*
 ' *their Distaste or Envy, at the King's present Mini-*
 ' *stry, and the Course of his Counsels,* which have not
 ' gain'd greater Honour abroad, nor perhaps Safety
 ' and good Will at home, by any thing, than by
 ' our late Alliances, so renown'd here, and thereby
 ' the STOP we have given to the Progress of the
 ' FRENCH GREATNESS. And therefore it must
 ' come from the Influence of some, who would be
 ' glad to see, not only our ALLIANCE SHAKEN
 ' OR CHANGED ABROAD, but OUR MINISTRY
 ' at home too; which I shall be sorry to see, till
 ' the King can find better Hands for himself and
 ' the Kingdom to place it in: And whenever that
 ' happens, as much as I am your Lordship's Ser-
 ' vant,

Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE *Bar.* 129

‘ vant, I shall be very well contented, and I dare
 ‘ say you will too. If your Lordship should imagine
 ‘ any particular Envy or Pique at me or my Em-
 ‘ ployment here, may have contributed to the Dif-
 ‘ ficulties which have succeeded in this Business;
 ‘ and that our Merchants, or those that influence
 ‘ them, believe it would thrive better in any other
 ‘ hand: I will beg of you not to be sway’d by
 ‘ Considerations of Kindness to me in a matter of
 ‘ publick Concernment; nor to fear, that when-
 ‘ ever this Employment falls, you shall be troubled
 ‘ with me at home, as great Ministers use to be
 ‘ with Men out of Office. For while *the King’s*
 ‘ *Business goes well, ’tis not two Straws matter whether*
 ‘ *such a Body as I have any share in it or no* *. And
 ‘ there’s an end of all the Reflections I have had
 ‘ upon the most troublesome and untoward Busi-
 ‘ ness that, I thank God, I ever had in my Life,
 ‘ or I hope ever shall have again; and perhaps I
 ‘ am mistaken in them all. However, if your
 ‘ Lordship can pardon this, you shall be sure not
 ‘ to be troubled in haste with any more of it from,
 ‘ *My Lord, Your, &c.*

However, not many Days † after, Sir William Temple could not forbear mentioning, in a Letter to the Earl of Arlington, *His Fear either of the Spanish King’s Death, or of Spain falling into some Agreement or other with France, for the Exchange of Flanders, by seeing so great a War still entail’d upon it; and their Neighbours unwilling to share it so far in their Dangers, as perhaps it were the Interest of England and Holland to do.* ‘ I am sure, added Sir

* A noble Instance this of Publick Spirit! the Reverse of which we have seen practised by profligate Dablers in Politicks, who would pass for Patriots; while they sacrifice the Publick Good, either to their private Piques or Interest.

† Aug. 7. N. S. See Sir W. Temple’s Letters, Vol. II. p. 81.

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 ' or else, they aim at gaining Occasion of raising new
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 ' stry, and the Course of his Counsels, which have not
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 ' OR CHANGED ABROAD, but OUR MINISTRY
 ' at home too; which I shall be sorry to see, till
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 ‘ ficulties which have succeeded in this Business;
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 ‘ them, believe it would thrive better in any other
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 ‘ Considerations of Kindness to me in a matter of
 ‘ publick Concernment; nor to fear, that when-
 ‘ ever this Employment falls, you shall be troubled
 ‘ with me at home, as great Ministers use to be
 ‘ with Men out of Office. For while *the King’s*
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 ‘ *such a Body as I have any share in it or no* *. And
 ‘ there’s an end of all the Reflections I have had
 ‘ upon the most troublesome and untoward Busi-
 ‘ ness that, I thank God, I ever had in my Life,
 ‘ or I hope ever shall have again; and perhaps I
 ‘ am mistaken in them all. However, if your
 ‘ Lordship can pardon this, you shall be sure not
 ‘ to be troubled in haste with any more of it from,
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† Aug. 7. N. S. See Sir W. Temple’s Letters, Vol. II. p. 81.

‘ *William*, in the present Posture of their Monar-
 ‘ chy, if I were of their Counsel, I should be of
 ‘ Advice to do it whenever *France* should be con-
 ‘ tent upon it to quit all Pretence to the rest of
 ‘ the *Spanish* Dominions. And perhaps ’twere wise
 ‘ for the King of *France* to get *Flanders* by that or
 ‘ any other quiet Condition: for within two Years
 ‘ after he were well possess’d of that little Spot of
 ‘ Ground, I doubt no Prince or State in Christen-
 ‘ dom would pretend to dispute any more with
 ‘ him then, than the *Spaniards* do now. But these are
 ‘ Events to be consider’d by Men in greater Spheres
 ‘ than I am, and perhaps deserve to be a little
 ‘ more thought on than they are.’ In the same
 Letter Sir *William* took notice of a Visit he had
 exchang’d with the *French* Ambassador at the *Hague*,
 with whom he had been directed to live in good
 Correspondence: and upon occasion of the Lord
Culpeper’s passing that way some Days before, Sir
William desir’d the Earl of *Arlington* to let him
 know, how he was to treat any *English* Lord, as
 to the *Hand* and *Door* in his own House: for tho
 he was order’d to follow the *French* Example, as to
 all publick Ministers, yet there was nothing spe-
 cify’d, as to other Persons. Therefore he thought
 it Prudence to have something from his Majesty’s
 positive Commands to bear him out, as the *French*
 Ambassadors had; and, as he thought, the case
 deserv’d: ‘ Since he was told, the Innovation be-
 ‘ gan in Monsieur *Cominges*’s time in *England*; that
 ‘ before the Orders he receiv’d in it, he gave the
 ‘ Hand to all Gentlemen of Quality in *England*, and
 ‘ to all Persons of great Quality or Families, tho
 ‘ of his own Nation; and that my Lord *St. Albans*
 ‘ ever gave it to all *English* Lords, while he was
 ‘ Ambassador at *Paris*: tho it seems my Lord *Hollis*
 ‘ chang’d it, upon the *French* Ambassador’s doing so
 ‘ in *England*.’ This Particular shews how atten-
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Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE Bar. 131

tive Sir *William Temple* was to the *Formal* and *Minute*, as well as to the Great and Important Parts of his Function. And as he was nicely exact and regular in the *Punctilio* towards others, so, on the other hand, he expected the same regard from them to himself; and, upon proper Occasions, did not want Spirit to resent and repel any Sights and Affronts that seem'd to be put on his Character. To this purpose we may take notice, that the *Spanish* Ambassador at the *Hague*, having made high Expostulations about the pressing Instances of Sir *William*, to induce the *Spaniards* to make at least the first Payment of the *Swedish* Subsidies, before the signing of what was then call'd the * *Concert*; Sir *William* wrote to him a Letter † in *Spanish*, which in *English* runs thus:

My Lord,

I Receiv'd your Excellency's Letter last Night, as I was making my Dispatches for *England*, in which I immediately inclos'd it, that the King my Master may see in what this Affair has ended. For the Complaints your Excellency is pleas'd to make of me, as having hinder'd, instead of advancing an Agreement so much desir'd; I shall not defend my self with Words, if my Actions have not done it; nor think my self oblig'd, whatever has pass'd in this Affair, to give account of it to any body but the King my Master. I am not the first Minister, whose Services to *Spain* have had no Returns but of Reproach and Ingratitude, which I shall not lay to heart, since our Part is only to obey. However, I cannot

* By this was meant, an Agreement between the Parties concern'd in the Triple Alliance, for the Support of the Guaranty of the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle.

† Dated August 14. N. S.

' but think it had been more Prudence in the *Spa-*
 ' *nish* Ministers, to acknowledg all the King my
 ' Master has treated and done for eighteen Months
 ' past, in favour of that Crown, than to accuse his
 ' Majesty upon every Occasion, either to have done
 ' nothing, or only what he found convenient to
 ' himself: since the true way of engaging a gene-
 ' rous Mind in new Obligations, is to be thankful
 ' for the old, and rather increase than lessen what a
 ' King and a Friend has done, at least with so much
 ' Desire of succeeding well.

' Since your Excellency is pleas'd to give so wrong
 ' a Turn to what I writ with so good Intentions,
 ' I will say nothing to excuse it, but still repeat
 ' what I said before; that to me it seems more rea-
 ' sonable, that you should press the *Swedish* Ministers
 ' upon this Agreement, if you think the time of
 ' the Second Subsidies not yet run out: because
 ' 'tis plain, that the first Payment (by your own
 ' Act) was to be made upon the signing of the
 ' Ratifications of the *Guaranty*, without any other
 ' Condition: and there being three distinct Acts
 ' from the three Parties, your Excellency has very
 ' artificially made mention both of that of the
 ' *Guaranty*, and the other of *Concert*; whereas that
 ' of the *Guaranty* ought only to be given to *Spain*;
 ' and that of *Concert*, but communicated as an
 ' Agreement between the three Parties entred
 ' into the *Triple Alliance*. With all this, your Ex-
 ' cellency may see, that when I said this, I told
 ' you at the same time, that there was no doubt,
 ' after having given the *Guaranty*, and that the
 ' *Swedes* had receiv'd their first Payment, the Agree-
 ' ment would be concerted too. And this I still
 ' believe from the Interest the *Swedes* have in it,
 ' to secure the other Payments; and *Holland* yet
 ' more, either to preserve the Peace, or in case a
 ' War should happen, to secure a strong and power-

ful

Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE Bar. 133

ful Defence from *Flanders*, which, next to their own Towns, is what they are nearest concern'd in. I must repeat again what I said of his Majesty, That if the *Swedes* and the *Dutch* can find the way of agreeing this Affair, it will never be laid to the King my Master's Charge, if they do not see a good end of it. But I have enter'd deep enough into the Thoughts of the *Swedes* upon this Point, to be absolutely of Opinion, That they will never consent to the Agreement, till they have receiv'd their first Payment. Monsieur *Marechal* having only heard some Expressions of your Excellency's upon this Affair, came immediately to desire I would go to you, and inform my self of the Truth of it, and bring a positive Answer from you; swearing, that if this were your Resolution, the *Swedes* could very well content themselves without the Mony; and that for his part, he was resolv'd to leave the *Hague* to morrow: and about four or five Days ago Monsieur *Appleboom* sent his Secretary to tell me, he had heard something to this purpose, of your Excellency; and to complain of it. But if you can otherwise dispose both the *Swedes* and the *Dutch*, as to me it seems by your Letter you imagine, I shall extremely rejoice at your Success, and applaud your Diligence, tho you are so little pleas'd with mine. I cannot tell how I came to engage so far in a Language I know so imperfectly: if you understand me, 'tis all I desire. God preserve your Excellency many Years; I kiss your Excellency's Hands, and am your most humble Servant.

Not many Days after, * Sir William Temple transmitted a Draught of the *Concert* made at the *Hague*,

* August 27. N. S.

to

to the Earl of *Arlington*; who in Answer to this last, and other Letters, wrote to Sir *William* what follows * :

MY LORD,

I Have receiv'd your Excellency's of the 27th N. S. with a Copy of a pretended *Concert* of Forces, suppos'd to be made heretofore at *London*; from whence it might be infer'd, we make a Difficulty to execute now, what we have heretofore stipulated. After having told you, that there were many Papers fram'd about that time by Monsieur *Meerman* sometimes, and at other times by the Baron *D'Isola*, which never took Effect, nor were signed, and consequently are now improperly alledg'd: I may securely assure you again, his Majesty will make no difficulty of entering into a *Concert*, when requir'd by the Confederate Allies, or oblig'd by the Motives and Grounds of the *Guaranty*, tho you know as well as any Man living, that his Majesty always declar'd to the Spanish Ambassador here, and by you to the *Marquis* Castel-Rodrigo, that he would never be at Charge by reason of the League, but so far as he should be indemnify'd by the Money of Spain; which despairing hitherto to be secur'd in, you cannot forget, that the last Year I warn'd you thereof; and that before you accepted of any Project of a *Concert*, you would endeavour to send us word, whether it would be likely to oblige his Majesty to any present Expence, which you know he is not in a state of supporting: whereas the other Confederates have always their Forces subsisting, and must keep them on foot, whether this Occasion were or were not. And this only Exception therefore I have to the Expedient you offer in Mr.

* This Letter is dated Aug. 24. O. S. See the Earl of *Arlington's* Letters, Vol. I. p. 412.

‘ Secretary *Trevor*’s Letter, that his Majesty cannot
 ‘ properly promise, in a Letter to the Constable, the
 ‘ entering into a present *Concert* of Affairs, with-
 ‘ out asking him, at the same time, Security for
 ‘ the Mony it will cost his Majesty, (the Pro-
 ‘ mises of *Spain* by Experience being become worth
 ‘ so little) which is all he, the Constable, can give
 ‘ us for the present. And if this be our Condi-
 ‘ tion (as you will easily suppose it is) how shall
 ‘ we bring our selves to answer again to the *Swede*,
 ‘ the Payment of any more Mony from *Spain*, as
 ‘ is likewise propos’d to you? To speak *freely* to
 ‘ you in this matter, I fear much, tho the Monies be
 ‘ now actually there, (viz. *Brussels*) the *Spaniards*
 ‘ will find twenty Excuses for keeping it in their
 ‘ own hands, till they have some effectual Service
 ‘ for it; and because they see how dear the League
 ‘ is like to cost them, trying the Effect their pre-
 ‘ sent Negotiation with the Marquiss *De Villars* at
 ‘ *Madrid*, upon a Treaty *De Convenience* (which I
 ‘ know they are actually in) will produce, before
 ‘ they will part with their Mony. Upon the whole
 ‘ matter, it is a hard Case that the Question being
 ‘ upon the Defence of the Frontiers of *Holland*,
 ‘ they, the States, do not only lean so hard upon
 ‘ his Majesty, as to make him either consent to
 ‘ put himself into a present extraordinary Expence
 ‘ by this *Concert*, or to deny it; and by that means
 ‘ both weaken and discredit the League; but also
 ‘ deny him Satisfaction in things, *we think*, so rea-
 ‘ sonably insisted on by us: as that Point of the
 ‘ *East-India* Company, and that other of *Surinam*.
 ‘ In the former, ’tis certain, Mr. Secretary *Trevor*
 ‘ and I have carry’d the Company as far as possi-
 ‘ bly we can, as you will see by the Project of the
 ‘ Article lately sent you; and in the latter, my
 ‘ Lord-Keeper and my Lord-Privy-Seal join’d with
 ‘ us, fram’d together the Substance of the Letter late-

' ly written to the States-General, after we had care-
 ' fully examin'd the Capitulation of *Surinam*: the
 ' Treaty of *Breda* directing the Restitution of it
 ' into the same State it was held the 1^o of *May*
 ' that Year; and, in a word, all other Papers
 ' concerning that Affair, wherein none of us found
 ' the least ground to doubt of a Power left to the
 ' *English* to come away with their Effects, whenever
 ' they should demand leave for it; which being
 ' now deny'd them, upon their own Instance, we
 ' conceived his Majesty was in possession of a Right
 ' to demand it for them; his Subjects Obedience in
 ' *Surinam* being but conditional, and not to be
 ' likened to that of the Inhabitants of the con-
 ' quer'd Towns in *Flanders*, or that of the *Dutch*
 ' in the *New Netherlands*. It is a hard thing to
 ' find any new Arguments in either of these Cases,
 ' therefore I will not trouble you with a Repeti-
 ' tion of any more of the old ones; only one thing
 ' now I will (presuming upon the Friendship betwixt us)
 ' say to you: Nothing is more ordinary in the Mouths
 ' of Men here, than that your Partiality and mine
 ' for the LEAGUE, or in plainer Language, for
 ' Holland, makes us easily follow all Monsieur De Wit's
 ' Dictaments; not only in that particular, but in the
 ' aforementioned, and all others: and that the World will
 ' never believe otherwise, till they hear you have been
 ' at Cuffs with Monsieur De Wit there, and I with
 ' Monsieur Boreel here. In a word, till you have
 ' made this Point of the Concert easy to the King's
 ' present Condition, and procur'd his Subjects some
 ' tolerable Satisfaction, in those two principal
 ' Points of *Surinam* and the *East-Indies*; both our
 ' Reputations will be in some Danger, not only
 ' with the Court, but with the Exchange too.
 ' Therefore I pray bestir your self in our Vindica-
 ' tion. I am, &c.

From

From the Style of this Letter, Sir *William Temple* was confirm'd in the Truth of Monsieur *De Wit*'s Informations, and his own Suspicion, That the Court of *England* began to alter their Measures, and lean towards the *French* Interest; of which Sir *William* gave a Hint to my Lord *Arlington* in these words: *I believe, says he *, your Lordship may hear Reports of Discontents growing, and Parties changing here: but, I doubt, it is not in Discourse further than among those that are in the Skirts of Business; which makes me hope there may be no more ground for all that is so lavishly talk'd of here, and of the same kind among us in England. If it should be otherwise, I am at least glad to be ignorant of it; being of so much Disreputation abroad to our Counsels: And all Persons of Consideration here are sorry for what they hear of it, professing to be as much concern'd in our Union as their own; and placing all their Hopes of taking any constant Measures with us, upon the Steadiness of his Majesty's late Counsels, and the Dispositions of our present Ministers, before whose time Monsieur De Wit says, There was nothing but Fluctuation in the Counsels of England. The truth is, the Duke of Buckingham, and the other gay and sprightly Courtiers, who by their Wit and Humour, engross'd King Charles's Favour, and were admitted as Partners in his Pleasures; being dazzled by the glittering Promises of France, made it their business to ridicule Sir William Temple's grave Counsels and Political Schemes. How early the Earl of Arlington struck in with them, does not clearly appear: but we may take notice, That not many Months after, the Lord-Keeper Bridgman, who ever had a just Value for Sir William's consummate Wisdom; and, upon that score, maintain'd a strict Friendship with him; gave † him a kind Hint, of*

* See Sir W. Temple's Letters, Vol. II. p. 109.

† Sir W. Temple's Letters, Vol. II. p. 282.

my Lord Arlington's not being the same to him which he had formerly been, and constantly since their first Acquaintance. But Sir William, who judg'd of others by himself, laid then no great stress on this Advice, and rather doubted some Mistake in the Lord-Keeper's Observation, than any Change in the Earl of Arlington's Friendship and Dispositions; tho he found his Style a little changed in what concern'd the Publick Affairs. It seems Sir William Temple, from the Uprightness and Sincerity of his own Nature, did not yet sufficiently consider the Precariousness and Lubricity of Court-Friendships; nor reflect, that about two Years before, he had been advis'd by the Earl of Arlington, not to abound so much in Candor and Ingenuity *. And indeed Sir William Temple had by this time establish'd so great a Reputation of Wisdom and Integrity at the Hague, that the Ambassador of Portugal and the Pensionary De Wit, thought fit to refer to his Umpirage and final Determination, a Difference that had long been depending between Portugal and Holland; and which Sir William compos'd by a *Definitive Sentence*, that was readily submitted to by both Parties. And it must be observ'd to his Honour, that in this Affair he acted not as Ambassador of England, but as a private † Person. As to the matters insisted on by the English East-India Company, particularly the Business of Surinam, the States-General would not || hear of it in point of Right: but the chief amongst them declar'd their Opinion, That it was fit to give his Majesty greater Testimonies of their Deference. As to the Concert or Alliance for a Defensive League, that Business remain'd some time at a stand, Sir William Temple having no Instructions to make any

* See the Earl of Arlington's Letters, Vol. I. p. 68.

† See Sir W. Temple's Letters, Vol. II. p. 97.

|| Ubi supra, p. 108.

vigorous Steps in it; and when he was press'd by the *Spanish, Swedish and Dutch* Ministers, to propose something in it, he acted the part he was put upon the best he could, and *entertain'd them with Complaints of the Spanish ill Usage towards England and Holland*, in relation to the Subsidies promis'd to *Sweden*. The Baron *D'Isola* endeavour'd to induce him to enter the *Concert*, upon the *Spanish* Ambassador's promising an Indemnity from *Spain* for the 150000 Crowns insisted upon by the *Swedes*, to be secured to them from the King of *England*, according to the Project made in *London*: But Sir *William* took no hold of this Insinuation, and contented himself with telling the Baron, ' That he was at ' the end of his Line, and could proceed no further: That his Majesty had order'd him to give ' the Guaranty, in conjunction with the other Confederates, upon Payment of 200000 Crowns, according to the *Spanish* Ambassador's own Act in ' *May* last: That he thought the *Spaniards* had no ' Right to press *England* and *Holland* upon the particular *Concert*, which yet he would be ready to ' consider of, when the Confederates thought fit; ' and in the mean time, was sincerely resolv'd to ' perform the *Guaranty*, if there should be occasion.' Sir *William Temple* was, not long after, sensible, that his Conduct in all these matters, had fallen short of the Approbation, at Court, it us'd to receive: And that *Mr. Werden*, who about the beginning of *December* 1669, N. S. arriv'd at the *Hague*, was sent over to him only * to disparage it, or espy the Faults of it; tho he went back with the Opinion, that Sir *William* had discharg'd his part with the utmost Zeal and Application. Sir *William* could not but take notice of this visible Distrust of his Conduct, and therefore he wrote to Mr. Se-

* See Sir W. Temple's Letters, Vol. II. p. 133.

cretary Trevor *, That he could have wish'd Mr. Werden had brought his Majesty's Instructions with him for a Reserve, tho not to have been communicated till the last Minute of his Stay, and the Despair of all other Trials: For by that means, added he, we might have kept the Business entire; whereas now, tho it may recover some Life, yet I much doubt, whether it ever can the Strength and Health of its first Constitution. For besides so great, and so many Jealousies as are enter'd into on all sides; I count Monsieur Marechal's (the Swedish Minister) going away, a very ill Accident; and can yet make no guess how Monsieur Appleboom will acquit himself, whenever we shall come to the Payment of the Subsidies, tho Monsieur Marechal was so forward as to make it sure: But Mr. Werden can tell you how different sorts of Men they are; and, for ought I see, all Businesses depend upon the Qualities of the Men that manage them; which (considering the ill Success of this) I shall say, in Answer of your Compliment, That 'tis in very good Hands. — I gave you an Account in my last, of the bold Advance the Dutch had made to the Constable, of signing their part of the Concert alone, immediately upon the Payment of the 200000 Crowns. We expect every Day the Answer to this Proposition: and finding one Clause of my Instructions to command me to suppress them, in case I find, either before or after their Arrival, that the Money would be paid according to the Treaty of May last; I thought it agreeable to what I conceive of his Majesty's Intentions, for me to take no notice of them, till I see what this Return from the Constable will produce: and in case it be follow'd by the Payment of the Money, to expect his Majesty's further Orders, before I proceed upon them. If the Constable still insist to have the Concert jointly sign'd, I shall then consult with the Swedish and Dutch Ministers, and endeavour to bring

* December 10. N. S. ubi supra, p. 133.

it to an Issue, according to his Majesty's Instructions; but so as not to prostitute our Offer, till we have Assurance that no more Difficulties will be made by Spain, nor any Changes desir'd in that Concert, which has so long been fram'd, and in which the Ministers here will not admit of any Alterations. — I suppose it is not his Majesty's Intention I should consent to the Concert, but in Conjunction with the Swede as well as the Dutch, in case the first should not be induc'd to it, or raise new Difficulties; and according to this Apprehension I shall proceed. In all which Points I am more distinct, that you may find whether I understand his Majesty's meaning right, and may please accordingly to inform and direct me: For the Paces, as they are much more difficult, so they ought to be much more cautious in a Minister, when his Instructions are numerous and particular, as mine are grown in this Affair. And you may be very confident, when they are once given, they shall be punctually observ'd, to the best that I can understand them: And in that it self, I thank God, I have not yet failed; and desire nothing of my Master and my Friends, more than that I may be the first to hear of it, when I do. Towards the Conclusion of this Letter, Sir William acquainted Mr. Secretary Trevor, That the Dutch Ministers had been earnest with his Excellency to propose to the King, to go the same or equal Pace with them, in laying Impositions upon the French Commodities, which they thought would prove the greatest Parsimony that either England or Holland could use; and be a GREATER BLOW TO FRANCE THAN ARMIES COULD GIVE; and that in case his Majesty should resolve upon it, they would go as far as he pleas'd in it; whereas without that, they must be something tenderer than they would be. Which Passage is a pregnant Proof, that the Dutch, tho in some measure our Rivals in Trade, are yet more concern'd for the Interest and Welfare

fare of England, than a Frenchify'd Party among us has all along represented them to be.

About this time the *Lunenburg* Envoy gave a Visit to the *English* Ambassador, to desire him, ' That he would * let his Majesty know, how ' much his Masters esteem'd themselves honour'd by ' the Overtures his Majesty made them, of entring ' into an Alliance, of which he was the Head : That ' thereupon they had order'd him to attend at the ' *Hague* ever since, in hopes of some further Propo- ' sals towards the engaging them in it : but that his ' Masters hearing no further from thence, and find- ' ing, that by the ill Posture of the *Triple Alliance*, ' other Princes of *Germany* were seeking other ' Measures, they had commanded him to return ; ' but first to endeavour, by his Excellency's hand, ' to give his Majesty the best Testimonies of their ' Affections to his Service, and good Intentions to- ' wards the Ends he had so gloriously engag'd in.' Sir *William Temple* promis'd him to perform the Message, and employ'd the rest of his Discourse in convincing him, how much more the Princes of *Germany* were concern'd in the Defence of *Flanders*, than his Majesty ; and that however, if his Masters had any Expectations besides their own Interests, towards engaging them, they ought to be from *Holland* and not from *England* : since the most important use of their Troops would be to awe the Bishop of *Munster*, who might otherwise be able, by the French Assistance, to divert all, or the greatest part of the Dutch Forces that way, and thereby leave *Flanders* open to the French.

On the 13th of *December* 1669, N. S. the Deputies of the States attended Sir *William Temple*, to assure him of their Desires and Resolutions to satisfy his Majesty in the Business of *Surinam* ; but that they could not yet come to a final Conclusion,

* Sir *William Temple's Letters*, Vol. II. p. 142.

and therefore desir'd him to have patience for a little longer time; after which he might assure himself of a good end of it. They pretended, that Monsieur *De Wit* and their chief Ministers were much taken up at this time; but, upon Discourse, confess'd the *Zealanders* Aim, to have their next Ships arrive from *Surinam*: Upon which Sir *William* fell into some Heat with them, and told them, *He would never send such a Message to his Majesty, such Delays being fitter for Law-Suits than publick Negotiations.* However, he added, *That because he would a little consider their Ministers being so much taken up at this pinch, about Levies and other Affairs, agitating in the States of Holland, he was content to stay six Days longer for their Resolution in this matter; upon condition, he should have it in that time to his Majesty's satisfaction:* which they agreed to. Not many Days * after, Sir *William Temple* open'd his Mind yet more fully upon all publick Matters, both Foreign and Domestick, in a remarkable Letter to the Earl of *Arlington*, which is as follows:

MY LORD,

‘ **T**H O Monsieur *Overkirk* wants nothing to
 ‘ make him welcome every where, but especially at the *Hague*; yet I confess he was the
 ‘ more so to me, by a Letter he brought me from
 ‘ your Lordship: whereby I found my self to be
 ‘ not altogether forgotten, where I desire most to
 ‘ be remembred, and would deserve it if I could.
 ‘ I am very sensible, the Right you say he has
 ‘ done me there, may rather prove an ill Office,
 ‘ than a good; but however, I am not the less
 ‘ oblig'd by his good meaning, nor the more touch'd
 ‘ by their ill; who are not content I should gain

* December 24. N. S.

‘ a little Esteem, whilst I am content to gain no-
‘ thing else; and where I should not care for that
‘ neither, but that I believe it to be the best way
‘ any Minister can take, towards the Advantage of
‘ his Master’s Service. Whilst your Lordship hath
‘ neither Share nor Belief in the *ill Offices* are done
‘ me, I shall easily neglect what comes from other
‘ hands, and content my self with not deserving
‘ them, and with the Assurance, that Time will
‘ do me Right; and that your Lordship will not
‘ lose your Confidence of me, till you have told me
‘ of some one Action in my whole Life, that you
‘ thought did not become a Man you were inclin’d
‘ to think well of. And so I will leave that Subject.
‘ I agree with your Lordship, in being sorry, that
‘ Mr. *Werden* did not stay to see the Effect of his
‘ Majesty’s last Resolution in the great Business here.
‘ And tho the ill, or no Entertainments of this
‘ Place might excuse his Haste of returning; yet I
‘ believe he would have been content a little to
‘ delay it, if he had expected any thing new from
‘ *England*: and for my part, I wish nothing more
‘ than some true Witness of my Carriage where-
‘ ever I am employ’d; which, I doubt not, he
‘ would have prov’d, without *increasing any more*
‘ *than lessening my Faults*. I shall do neither by
‘ those of the *Spaniards*, which your Lordship has
‘ so much reason to censure and reproach; nor
‘ should I be less amaz’d at them, but that I look
‘ upon them as the usual Distractions of weak and
‘ diseas’d Bodies. ’Tis certain, they have deserv’d
‘ so little of us, that we have no reason at all to
‘ concern our selves in their Interests or Dangers,
‘ unless we find they will have very strong and ne-
‘ cessary Consequences upon our own; and in that
‘ Case, our growing angry with them, will only
‘ serve to hurt our selves: and we *had better help*
‘ *them to mend their Faults, than force them by De-*
‘ *spair*

Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE Bar. 145

‘ *Spain* or *Hardships* to increase them. Most of the
‘ Ministers here not knowing what to make of their
‘ late Conduct in the Difficulties upon the *Swedish*
‘ Money; nor seeing well which way to turn them-
‘ selves, in case *Spain* should take its Measures with
‘ *France*, by an Exchange of *Flanders*; begin to con-
‘ fess they have dealt too roughly with them, in
‘ imposing not only the Laws of a hard Peace upon
‘ them, but the *Swedish* Subsidies at the same time;
‘ and ever since refusing them their *Guaranty* till
‘ those were paid: and seem to wish they had either
‘ accepted the first Proposal I was sent hither to
‘ make them upon that occasion, or else endea-
‘ vour’d a *Defensive League* with them, after the
‘ Conclusion of the Peace at *Aix*; I mean, if it
‘ might have been done in Conjunction with us.
‘ For, I think, while we are content to hold firm
‘ with them, it were no great matter to under-
‘ take they shall never take any Measures without
‘ us, either there or any where else: tho I know
‘ there are Reports in *France*, that would make us
‘ believe it, if we are apt to those Impressions.

‘ For the detaining us so long upon the Point of
‘ *Surinam*, it must be attributed to the Constitu-
‘ tion of this *State*, where the Obstinacy of any
‘ one Province can keep off a Resolution of the
‘ *States-General*, as long as they please: And that
‘ happens often, where (as in this case) the mat-
‘ ter touches one Province by a particular Interest,
‘ and the rest only by a general one. For, I am
‘ sure, the Province of *Holland* and the other Five
‘ were, many Months ago, resolv’d not only to
‘ give us, in substance, the Satisfaction we de-
‘ manded, but in our own Forms too; till they
‘ found, that *Zealand* would never be persuaded,
‘ *ni gourmandée* (nor bullied) into the same Reso-
‘ lution; which hath made it hang so long, and go
‘ over at last defective, as to what we expected

U

‘ about

' about one of our Ships; tho, as they contend,
 ' full as to what we can in any way ground upon
 ' our Articles. For their great Arming, which it
 ' seems makes more Noise with you, and in *France*,
 ' than it does here, I shall not need give your Lord-
 ' ship the Particular of it; because that is done with
 ' the other current News by my Secretary Mr. *Blaith-*
 ' *wait*, every Week to Mr. *Williamson*: and shall
 ' only mark what may perhaps have escap'd your
 ' Lordship, That there are yet no actual Levies
 ' here agreed upon, but only Officers chosen, A-
 ' greements made with them, and Security taken
 ' for their bringing in their Men at a certain Warn-
 ' ing, when they shall be call'd upon by the *States*.
 ' So as the Execution of what is hitherto but pre-
 ' par'd, will depend upon the clearer Discovery of
 ' the *French*, or the *Munster* Intentions to open a
 ' War; both which are expected here, and equally
 ' fear'd: the difference not being great between the
 ' Danger of *Flanders*, and their own. So that I can
 ' only answer your Lordship's Question about the
 ' States Meaning in this Point; that is, *Qu'on ne*
 ' *les trouvera pas sans Vert le Printems qui vient* *;
 ' and that if it must prove a Year of Action,
 ' they will not be found without Arms in their
 ' Hands, for the better making either of *Peace* or
 ' *War*. 'Tis a hard Attempt what your Lordship
 ' mentions, to defend their Neighbours in spight
 ' of their Teeth: yet, I believe, in case *Spain*
 ' should come to an Exchange with *France*, and any
 ' of the Towns of *Flanders* should refuse to obey
 ' it; either not to be sold like Slaves (as they call
 ' it) by the *Spaniards*, or not to be us'd like Slaves
 ' by the *French*: you would see this *State* protect
 ' them with all their Forces, and blow up any such

* That is, That they shall not be found unprovided the next Spring.

' Ends of a War in *Flanders*, rather than venture
 ' it at home; and perhaps endeavour to unite any
 ' such new Member into the Body of their *State*,
 ' by giving them an eighth Voice in their Gene-
 ' rality, in case it should be such a Place as *Ant-*
 ' *werp*, or *Ghent* or *Bruges*, where they might
 ' easily come with their Arms to defend it. And
 ' they have notice of some such Discourses a-foot
 ' already in these Parts, which they neglect not
 ' to foment, as a Provision against such a Blow
 ' from *Spain*. In case all they can do, should not
 ' be of force to prevent the falling of *Flanders* into
 ' the *French* hands, I believe their last Resource
 ' may be, to endeavour being receiv'd as a Circle
 ' into the *Empire*: But in all these Transactions
 ' their chiefest Care will be, to strengthen their
 ' Union all they can with us, and to embark us in
 ' what they now esteem the *Common Cause*, of STOP-
 ' PING THE GROWTH OF THE FRENCH
 ' GREATNESS. For tho they say, and with
 ' Truth, That we engag'd them first in the Pur-
 ' suit of these Measures, and the whole Course of
 ' their present Counsels; yet they would be much
 ' at ease to see us now as warm and as deep in them,
 ' as they are themselves; and would fain give us
 ' the Honour of Leading in them all. The Dis-
 ' course your Lordship will possibly hear about
 ' Changes or Decays in the Credit of the Ministry
 ' here; I believe have no farther Source, than an
 ' Endeavour in the City of *Amsterdam* to make
 ' themselves more consider'd than as a simple
 ' Town in the Provinces; since they pay half of
 ' all that is laid upon the Province of *Holland*, as
 ' *Holland* does upon all that is levy'd on the Seven
 ' Provinces: which makes them believe they ought,
 ' at least in some degree, be consider'd in the *Pro-*
 ' *vince*, as *Holland* is in the *State*; which made
 ' them employ all their Strength to oppose the

' Faction of *Leyden, Dort, Rotterdam, &c.* who,
 ' under Monsieur *De Wit*'s Influence have of late
 ' Years carried all before them in the usual Elec-
 ' tions; and join with the Body of the Nobility
 ' here, to chuse Monsieur *Mattenisse* in exclusion of
 ' Monsieur *Meerman*, where the Contest was about an
 ' Office of the greatest Profit in these Countries, and
 ' of great Honour, tho not Influence upon the
 ' Publick Affairs. They have likewise succeeded
 ' well in the late Election of Officers for the new
 ' Levies, and seem dispos'd to run on still in a
 ' String: and amongst them, there have of late
 ' been Overtures about making a new Minister,
 ' under the name of *Secretary of State*; whose Pro-
 ' vince should be chiefly to receive the Addres-
 ' ses of foreign Ministers, and take the Care of all
 ' foreign Dispatches; and so ease Monsieur *De Wit*
 ' of that Attention he is fain to give to those, as
 ' well as the Home-Affairs. And this, I suppose,
 ' was calculated for Monsieur *Van Beuningen*, who
 ' has silently had a great hand in all the Counsels
 ' and Motions of his Town of *Amsterdam*; and, I
 ' believe, will, in effect, come to have the chief
 ' Part, or at least Burden in foreign Transactions,
 ' whether with any new Name or no.

' Monsieur *De Wit* in these late *Brigues* (or In-
 ' trigues) has very prudently avoided any appea-
 ' rance of being a Party in them; and contented
 ' himself with going his usual Pace, but stickling
 ' no farther in any of them: seeming rather to in-
 ' tend and endeavour the Composure of all, than
 ' the valuing himself upon a Division; which, I
 ' believe, with his being so necessary to the *State*,
 ' will ever preserve him in his Consideration here,
 ' without some violent Revolution, to which nothing
 ' seems at all dispos'd.

' Among the late Divisions of this Province, one
 ' great Point has been, about the intended Prohi-
 ' bition

' bition of *French* Commodities; which has been
 ' violently carry'd on by Monsieur *Van Beuningen*
 ' and his Town of *Amsterdam*, but oppos'd and
 ' temper'd by the Towns of the other Faction, upon
 ' the respect of their particular Interests in the
 ' *French* Trade, and the pretext of Danger or ill
 ' Consequences in such a Counsel, unless it be taken
 ' in Concert with *England*. So that whether it
 ' will go further than the *Defence* * of the com-
 ' mon *French* Commodities that are in Wear, I
 ' know not; tho Monsieur *Van Beuningen* reckon'd
 ' (not long since) absolutely, that it would be car-
 ' ried to *French* Salt and Brandy; and if we would
 ' go the same Pace, it should reach the *Wine* too:
 ' Which he believ'd would soon bring France into such
 ' a Consumption, as would keep them from being so
 ' troublesome abroad. But I entred no further with
 ' him into any Discourse of that kind; because I
 ' doubt whether we are of a Temper or a Humour, to
 ' resolve or execute any bold or smart Propositions, how
 ' well soever conceiv'd, or conducing to our Health and
 ' good Fortune; tho I question not at all, but God Al-
 ' mighty has given us the Power of going as high as
 ' the greatest of our Neighbours: But, perhaps, as your
 ' Lordship says, unknown to our selves, and in another
 ' way than some of us would be glad to have had it.
 ' But wherever it lies, I doubt it will never come
 ' out, till his Majesty can find the means to make an
 ' end of all fencing with the Bents of his Parliament,
 ' or Discontents of his People; and bring his Govern-
 ' ment into the Credit of having no other Aims nor In-
 ' terests, but those of his Subjects in general; nor in
 ' particular, nor consequently any Eye upon their Mony,
 ' but for those Uses they are willing to give it. This,
 ' I confess, is my Opinion upon the whole, and
 ' that all does not consist in a Parliament's being

* Sir W. Temple uses this Word for Prohibition.

' prevail'd with to give what is ask'd in point of
 ' Mony, as I find many People think. However,
 ' I should never have said it to any but your Lord-
 ' ship, nor to you neither; but induc'd by the me-
 ' lancholy Reflections I observ'd in your Letter, up-
 ' on this Subject. But, whatever mine or another's
 ' Opinion is, I am confident every Man that thinks
 ' at all, must think it were not amiss, if his Ma-
 ' jesty and his Ministers would, once for all, con-
 ' sider and agree upon a general Draught of those
 ' Ways and Counsels, both at Home and Abroad,
 ' as they judge will best answer the great Ends of
 ' the King and Kingdom's Safety, Honour and
 ' Quiet. For when such a Scheme is once agreed
 ' upon, all the Parts of it may be pursu'd in their
 ' Order, and with constant Application, till they
 ' are brought to pass; at least such as fail not in
 ' the Trial, and so are found to have been ill con-
 ' ceiv'd. But *if it should prove* (as I find some
 ' Men think) *that we live only by the Day, and con-*
 ' *tent our selves to PATCH UP THINGS AS THEY*
 ' *BREAK OUT, and fly at the Game as it rises; it*
 ' *is, at the best, but like Birding and Hawking, which*
 ' *may furnish a Dish or two, but can never keep the*
 ' *House.*

' If your Lordship can pardon all this Liberty and
 ' Trouble, I will not run my self into the occasion
 ' of asking it again; if not, you must lay the whole
 ' fault upon your own Letter, or rather upon my
 ' not having heard from you, or written to you
 ' of late; and upon my perpetual strong Inclina-
 ' tions, of returning into my old Correspondence,
 ' just as a Man does into an *old Love*, which lies
 ' still at Heart, however diverted or discontinu'd.
 ' But because I use so much freedom in the account
 ' of Dispositions here, and of my own Thoughts,
 ' I send it by Mr. *Richard's* Conveyance to your
 ' own Hands; in which I shall ever think all safe
 ' that

Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE Bar. 151

‘ that concerns me, because I have been always,
‘ and am with so much Passion, MY LORD,
‘ Yours, &c.

This home Letter the Earl of *Arlington* did not think fit to answer till the 7th of *January* 16⁶²₇₂, O. S. when he told * *Sir William*, He was *asham'd* to acknowledg an old one of the 24th past, N. S. It came to me, added his Lordship, the Night before I began my Journey into *Suffolk*; but being now become an old one, requires little or no Answer, unless I should repeat again to you, the PERFECT FRIENDSHIP I have, without any Interruption, continu'd hitherto; and dare say, shall continue all the days of my Life. The best present Effect of which I can give you, is, to advise you not to be troubled (as you seem to be) at the Censures of your Behaviour in that Negotiation: The Disorder befallen it by the irregular Proceeding (not to call it worse) of the Spaniards, and the Uneasiness in which that has left us, may be the occasion of distemper'd and unjust Censures (of which I have not been without my share) which cannot be long-liv'd, and are therefore the easier to be supported. You will not wonder if I tell you, how impatient we are to know what Effect his Majesty's Offer, to enter into the Concert of Forces, has had upon the Constable. In the freshest Letter I have from *Sir William* † *Godolphin*, he tells me, he is confident the Constable has new Orders to comply with our Desires thereupon. But he says withal, the Ministers will have us know it from the Constable only, who may have told it you, if he pleases, by the time this arrives in *Holland*. I pray God he does it time enough to prevent a Breach in the Spring, which I am persuaded can only be done by France's seeing the Triple League yet in vigour. I told you, long ago, of the Attempts his Majesty resolv'd to make upon the King

* See the Earl of *Arlington's* Letters, Vol. I. p. 420.

† The English Minister at *Madrid*.

of France, to defer the Arbitrement of the Disputes about the Dependencies upon the conquer'd Places, to some amicable and fair Decision, as a means of barring the Door, through which the War can only enter. He has had some Discourse with the French Ambassador here upon that Subject; and our Ambassador has had the like with the Ministers at Paris: Upon both which, fair Answers have been made; but not such as are yet worth the sending you. If we can succeed herein, it is the best and the cheapest way we have of discharging our selves of our Obligations to the Triple Alliance; but I doubt not so pleasing to Spain, as arming of Ships and Men, and transporting them at a vast Expence would be: unless they have some private Negotiation on foot at the same time. The Opinion of which, still continues; but each Party will, and ought to play their Game as it suits best with the Constitution of their own Affairs; and this, I am sure, agrees best with ours. I would it were otherwise.

Upon the receipt of this Letter Sir William Temple plainly saw what course the Court of England design'd to steer; and therefore in the Draught of the Project or Concert, which was sent to the Constable, he could not be induc'd * to engage his Majesty in point of time; tho he was never press'd with more earnestness to any thing, both by the Spaniards and by the Dutch. Sir William having, about this time, given Monsieur De Wit the first News of the French King's Declaration, to refer the Judgment of the Differences depending on the Peace to his Britannick Majesty and the Crown of Sweden's Arbitration; that discerning Politician said, ' He thought † the leaving out the States was something discourteous on the French side; but however, he was very glad of the thing being done, and hop'd, as the Business

* See Sir W. Temple's Letters, Vol. II. p. 162.

† Ubi supra, p. 166.

Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE Bar. 153

‘ should receive no Hurt on their side, so it would
‘ receive none on the side of *England* by any Effect
‘ of the great CAJOLRY of *France*; especially
‘ since this Resolution appear’d, by the time, to
‘ have no other Source than only the Civility or De-
‘ ference of that Court towards his Majesty.’ Nor
was Monsieur *De Wit* mistaken in his Judgment of
this Offer of *France*, which soon after appear’d to
be but an *Amusement*, in order to lay asleep * all
Thoughts and Preparations for War, both in *Flanders*
and *Holland*: tho the *Dutch* Ministers lay no great
Stress on *French* Promises. Sir *William Temple* gave
an account of all this to the Earl of *Arlington*;
and in the same Letter †, sent his Lordship Baron
D’Isola’s rough Proposals, concerning the Emperor’s
joining with the *Triple Alliance*; which was very
coldly entertain’d in *England*. ‘ With his Favour,
‘ said the Earl of *Arlington*, in his Answer || to
‘ Sir *William*, till I see more and better Evidence
‘ of it than I have yet, I will not believe the Em-
‘ peror very fond of embracing the Proposition, so
‘ as to give Offence to *France*. And if he be thus
‘ shy with all his Concernments and Dependencies
‘ upon *Spain*; what ought our Master to be, with
‘ his Necessities, and little Security of being re-
‘ liev’d in them by the Parliament? If that goes
‘ over happily, you may perhaps hear us speak
‘ more boldly; but, till then, it must be a great
‘ part of our Prudence to keep his Majesty from
‘ being ask’d Questions, which are hard to grant,
‘ and as unfit to deny. From what I say, you
‘ may easily infer my Mind, without alledging to
‘ the Ministers there, my Reasons for it; and to
‘ take heed of suffering his Majesty, or your self,

* Ubi supra, p. 167.

† Ubi supra, p. 168.

|| *The Earl of Arlington’s Letters*, Vol. I. p. 425.

' to be prais'd into Measures, which his Strength will
 ' not support. It is visible, the Interest of Spain, of
 ' Holland, and of Swedeland, is not only to put
 ' themselves into a state of supporting the War
 ' against France, but even to provoke it; and per-
 ' haps it would be our Master's Honour to do so
 ' too: But without Vigour to support that Ho-
 ' nour, it would have a contrary Effect upon us,
 ' not only Abroad but at Home too.' By this
 time Sir William Temple's pressing Instances were so
 effectual with the Constable of Castile, that before
 the end of February 1670, N. S. the long expected
 matter of the Swedish Payment, and the Concert,
 were happily concluded, and transmitted to Mr.
 Secretary Trevor, for his Majesty's Ratifications;
 which, however, were not exchang'd till the be-
 ginning of May. Tho by a Letter of the 4th of
 March, O. S. the Earl of Arlington congratulated
 Sir William on the Success of his Negotiation:
 Yet, * said his Lordship, *I will not dissemble with you,*
I was sorry to see the Instruments run so near the two
Points that were positively forbidden; † to wit, the
ascertaining a time for the Preparations, and furnishing
of the King's Quota, in case a War break out; and the
answering for a part (viz. 15000 Crowns per Menssem)
of the Swedish future Subsidies. I am further to com-
plain to you, that notwithstanding what I wrote upon
the Receipt of Baron D'Isola's Project, you have not
prevail'd with him to forbear writing, and offering the
same to me; whereas I, in my Opinion, furnish'd you
with some Reasons, both publick and private, against
the said Project; and told you, this would be one of
those embarrassing Questions, which are equally hard to
deny or grant. But my way to be reveng'd of you for
this, shall be to send him to you; therefore provide your

* Ubi supra, p. 427.

† Ubi supra, p. 425.

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE Bar. 155

self to answer his Questions as skilfully as you can. For, in a word, tho his Majesty's Condition, as to his Debts, is much amended since I wrote, yet he is not enabled thereby, or willing, as Affairs of Christendom stand, to enter into great Schemes, which may have prejudicial Consequences, how honourable soever they are in the Noise of the World. In another * Letter of the 22d of the same Month, the Earl of Arlington acquainted Sir William with other Reasons, why his Majesty could not enter into any Defensive Union with the Emperor, as the Baron D'Isola propos'd; viz. that it might oblige our Armies to march against the Turk, if he should invade the Empire; or at least, against France, if he should attack Brisac, or the remotest part of Germany from us. Besides this, adds the Earl of Arlington, there is something to be given to the time in which this is propos'd to us. How ill a Grace it will have to France, to make such a League in effect against them, when they have offer'd to refer themselves to his Majesty's Arbitration, upon all the Points in Dispute. Sir William Temple seeing the Proposal of admitting the Emperor into the Guaranty of the Peace at Aix la Chapelle thus rejected; and finding by the Lord-Keeper Bridgman's Letters, that he was, in a manner out of the foreign † Counsels, he laid some stress upon the Information his Lordship gave his Excellency, viz. That my Lord Arlington was not at all the same to him that he had been. Which Sir William took for an ill sign in the publick Business, and an ill Circumstance in his own; and the more, because he was sure not to have deserv'd it, and found nothing of it in the Earl's Letters, but only that they came seldom, and run upon more indifferent things than they us'd to do.

* Ubi supra, p. 429.

† See Sir William Temple's Letters. Vol. II. p. 292.

We may here take notice, that the Attempt, which towards the end of the Year 1669, was made among the States, to create a new Minister, under the name of Secretary of State, was in order to advance to that Office Monsieur *Van Beuningen*, a Person well affected to the Prince of *Orange*. But tho that Design was quash'd (as was hinted before) by Monsieur *De Wit*'s great Interest, yet Monsieur *Van Beuningen* stir'd so much in favour of the Prince, that the States of *Holland*, after the warmest Debates that had been known among them for many Years, * resolv'd, by a Plurality of Voices, That the Prince should have Session in the Council of State with a decisive Voice, and should have the same place his Ancestors had formerly had. However, after this was resolv'd on, the Party that most oppos'd the Prince's Interest started two new Points: The first, That no Captain-General should be chosen, otherwise than from Year to Year, but by Unanimity of Voices: and, Secondly, That in case the Prince should be chosen Captain-General for Life, then it should be again debated and resolv'd, by Plurality of Voices, Whether he should continue his Session in the Council of State. These two Questions were agreed to by all the Towns, excepting Four or Five, in which number were *Amsterdam* and *Haerlem*; who maintain'd, that they were not to be resolv'd till those matters came under Debate.

Not long after, King *Charles* wrote to the Prince of *Orange*, renewing † his desire to him, to see him in the Spring of the Year 1670. And the Earl of *Arlington*, who gave notice of it to Sir *William Temple*, added, That if his Highness accepted of the Invitation, my Lord *Ossory* would be sent over to conduct him into England. Hereupon the Prince was

* May 1670. The Prince admitted to the Council of State.

† The Earl of *Arlington's Letters*, Vol. I. p. 430.

Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE Bar. 157

very earnest with * Sir William Temple to know,
' Whether he was like to procure any satisfaction
' in his Pretensions there, about his Mother's
' Dowry: adding, industriously, That all his best
' Friends in *Holland* were of Opinion, that in case
' that should wholly fail him, his Journey into
' *England* would prove of great Prejudice to his
' Affairs; by letting his Friends see, how little he
' was regarded by his Majesty, whose Countenance
' would be a great Support to him in the Course
' of his Fortunes.' Sir William Temple, who was
shy of offering the least Judgment of his own on
this matter, told his Highness, *That he was wholly*
ignorant of his Master's Affairs, besides what related
to Holland; and particularly of the present State of his
Revenue; or how much the late Supplies had contributed
towards the Ease of it. Upon this, his Highness
desir'd the English Ambassador to touch upon this
Point to the Lord *Arlington*; but finding no En-
couragement from his Lordship, his Highness put
off the thoughts of his Journey till towards the
Sitting of the Parliament; having assur'd Sir Wil-
liam Temple, ' That he resolv'd to steer by his Ma-
' jesty's Advice, in the course of his Affairs, and
' Motions relating to *England*:' So that all that
Sir William Temple pretended to have done in fa-
vour of the Prince, during his first Embassy to the
States, was only not to have spoil'd his Business; which
it had been the easiest thing in the World for an Eng-
lish Minister, at the Hague, to have done. For that
great Politician did wisely conclude, *That the best*
part the English could play, was to seem no further
concern'd in the Affairs of Holland, than their Wishes
for the perfect Union of a State they were so near al-
lied to; tho, at the same time, he did not fail to in-
sinuate by the by, that such an Union would never be

* Sir W. Temple's Letters, Vol. II. p. 200.

compass'd, but by taking in the Prince's Interests as far as could consist with the Liberty of the State; and making such a Person of him, as might in Title, Expence, and other Circumstances, represent the Dignity of their Commonwealth. The Judgment Sir William made of the Prince of Orange on this Occasion, in a Letter to the Earl of Arlington, deserves particular Notice. *I wish to God, said * he, he do nothing towards the Prejudice of his Affairs himself, by Advice of younger or warmer Heads: for this is a Country where Fruit ripens slowly, and cannot be preserv'd, if it be gather'd green. I am very confident from his last, as well as the present Dispositions I here discern, that his Fortunes are in his own Hands; and I hope he will make great Advantages of them in the Conduct of them, by your Lordship's Advices, when he sees you in England; of whose Prudence and Vertues he will go over with a very full Persuasion.*

About this time † a violent Humour run against Monsieur De Wit in the City of Amsterdam, upon pretence of his growing too far into the Sway of all Affairs by so long a Ministry, and of advancing his own Creatures into Offices and Places of Trust, with too much Industry. ' The bottom of this ' Sir William Temple ‡ suppos'd to be the same with ' that of all popular Humours; that is, a design ' in the Leaders to change the Scene, that thereby ' those who had been long employ'd, might make ' room for those who had been long out. And he ' was not of Opinion they would succeed to prejudice him suddenly; both because his chief Enemies acknowledg'd his great Abilities, and Usefulness to the State; and because he would always ' have it in his power to fall in very considerably

* Ubi supra, p. 201.

† June 3. N. S. Ubi supra, p. 202.

‡ Sir William Temple's Letters, Vol. II. p. 202.

‘ with the Prince’s Interest, which the other Party
 ‘ pretended to promote. Tho he thought, in such
 ‘ a Case, his Highness would have a hard Choice
 ‘ which Wind to fail; as indeed he was likely to
 ‘ fall into Conjectures that would require all his
 ‘ Prudence.’ These Conjectures of Sir *William Temple*
 were grounded on solid Reasons; for indeed Mon-
 sieur *De Wit*’s Interest was so firmly establish’d, that
 nothing less than the Irruption of the whole *French*
 Power was able to shake it. Wherefore it must be
 confess’d, that *France*, in some measure, contributed
 to the Restoration of the Prince of *Orange*, altho
 without the least design to favour him: Providence
 so ordering it, that that Monarch should ravage,
 and almost destroy this flourishing Republick, to
 make them sensible of their Ingratitude; and con-
 vince them, that the restoring the Family of the
 Founders of their Commonwealth, was the only
 means to prevent their total Ruin.

But to proceed: The Earl of *Arlington* having
 intimated to Sir *William Temple*, a Suspicion that
 was entertain’d both in *France* and *England*, That
 the Answer * from Spain, to his *Britannick* Maje-
 sty, was dictated at the Hague; and a Desire to
 know something particular of Monsieur *Van Beu-*
ningen’s Errand into *England*: Sir *William* gave his
 Lordship his Thoughts thereupon, with a great
 deal of Frankness. ‘ The first, said † he, I am confi-
 ‘ dent is without any other ground, than a common
 ‘ Opinion we have conceiv’d, of more *Finesse* than
 ‘ I have yet observ’d in the chief Ministers here;
 ‘ who are as hard and as firm as you can imagine
 ‘ them: but for TRICKS or JUGGLING, I do not ob-
 ‘ serve, either their Abilities or their Dispositions lie

* April 29. O. S. See the Earl of Arlington’s Letters,
 Vol. I. p. 432.

† See Sir W. Temple’s Letters, Vol. III. p. 180. & seq.
 ‘ much

' much that way: Nor, indeed, does any wise Man's,
 ' unless he be brought to it by the ill Condition or Necessity
 ' of his Affairs, and finds no other way of living;
 ' which is not yet their Case here, nor will be, I
 ' suppose, while *Flanders* is preserv'd. And so
 ' long I shall look upon them as Merchants in good
 ' Estate and Credit, and who will endeavour to
 ' keep it up by *square Dealing*: But when ever they
 ' fail in their Adventure, I shall grow as jealous
 ' of them as I see others are. I have enquir'd par-
 ' ticularly of the *Spanish* Ambassador, and am as-
 ' sur'd by him, that all Monsieur *De Wit*'s Discour-
 ' ses, upon the Subject of the late Answer from
 ' *Spain*, agreed perfectly with what he made me
 ' upon the same Occasion. And I know the States
 ' Deputies at *Brussels* had immediate Orders from
 ' hence, to apply themselves very earnestly to the
 ' *Constable* for the Redress of that Fault: And I
 ' dare say, whoever thinks that these Men here will
 ' quit a Point of *Interest* for a Point of Honour,
 ' has taken a wrong measure of them. The *Spanish*
 ' Ambassador bids me be assur'd, that the Answer
 ' from *Spain* will be amended, and come in all
 ' Points to his Majesty's satisfaction: He goes this
 ' day from hence towards *Brussels*, being hastned
 ' thither by an Express from the *Constable*; who,
 ' I believe, intends to make use of him in the *Junto*
 ' there: upon whom I hear he will wholly devolve
 ' all his publick Business; having taken an Attestation
 ' from his Physicians, that his ill Health has
 ' render'd him wholly incapable of charging himself
 ' any longer with it.—For Monsieur *Van Beuning-*
 ' *gen*'s Errand into *England*, I suppose the rise of
 ' it was of an old Date; and occasion'd a good
 ' deal, by my laying often to their Charge, the
 ' want of Respect they shew'd his Majesty in the
 ' Choice of the Ministers they sent into *England*;
 ' who are seldom of the Province of *Holland*, or of
 ' those

those Persons most consider'd in this State: Besides, when I found I was not able to bring the Business of our *Marine Treaty* to such a conclusion as we propos'd; tho I fail'd but in one Article (which yet it seems is thought to import the whole of our Pretensions there) I told them here, that it would be absolutely necessary to treat it in *England*, and bring it to some Issue there: and for that purpose, to send some able Person over; who being perfectly intrusted in it from hence, might debate it there with Persons as well instructed on our side. Upon these grounds Monsieur *Van Beuningen's* Journey was thought fit above a Year ago; but his being chosen *Burgomaster* of *Amsterdam* about the same time, made him absolutely refuse it. Since his Year expir'd, my Instances still continuing for a conclusion in our *East-India* Business, and Mr. Secretary *Trevor's* Papers upon the same Subject keeping life in it from time to time, Monsieur *Van Beuningen* began about two Months since, to shew some Inclination to the Journey; which has been pursu'd very earnestly by the *States* here, and especially by Monsieur *De Wit*, till it came lately, on all sides, to be resolv'd on. So as your Lordship must reckon, that the avow'd Errand will be the Business of the *East-India* Company; and the clearing that part of the *Marine Treaty*, which so long prov'd too hard for me here. Besides, this will be the Compliment they pretend to make his Majesty, in sending a Person of so much Account among them, as Monsieur *Van Beuningen*; and with the Orders of *Surinam*, which they here reckon upon as a perfect piece of Compliance with his Majesty. And this is the account they give the *French Ambassador* of his Journey; adding a good deal of Monsieur *Van Beuningen's* Inclination to see *England* in this Season. That which is further meant by it,

Y

is,

' is, first in general, to inform themselves perfectly
 ' of *our Temper*, in the pursuit of those Ends we
 ' have been these two or three Years last engag'd
 ' in: and which many Discourses and Reflections of
 ' late have made them a little suspect, does not
 ' continue so equal and so warm as it began. And in
 ' this regard it will be his Business to use his best and
 ' most persuasive Oratory, to confirm us in the
 ' pursuit of those common Interests abroad, which
 ' we have of late so much advanc'd by our *Triple Al-*
 ' *liance*, and the Dependances of it; and, in short,
 ' to persuade us, that it is more our Honour and our
 ' Interest *to lead* than *to follow*. In pursuit of this,
 ' he will, I believe, endeavour to dispose us to ac-
 ' cept a Conjunction with such Princes of the *Empire*
 ' as desire it, upon such Measures as are propos'd in
 ' the late Project I sent your Lordship, drawn up
 ' by Monsieur *De Wit*: Tho I have made so good
 ' way in *defending* * you upon this Point, that I
 ' believe it would not cost much Trouble there, un-
 ' less you are willing to enter farther into it than
 ' you seem'd of late. Another Point, and that
 ' which I believe he will most eagerly pursue, is the
 ' *Prohibition of French Commodities*, upon which his
 ' particular *Imagination has been long bent*, as the only
 ' *sure and easy way of bringing the French Power and*
 ' *Riches into Decay*, in case the thing could be a-
 ' greed on among all, or the greatest part of their
 ' Neighbours: And this State having founded the
 ' *Spanish Court* upon that Point, receiv'd answer,
 ' That whatever *England* and they should agree
 ' upon, *Spain* would readily join with them in it:
 ' By which means they suppose, that besides what
 ' would be sav'd by both our Nations, by stopping
 ' the VAST IMPORTATION of FRENCH COM-
 ' MODITIES; a very great Traffick would be gain'd

* This word is us'd here in the French sense, viz. for Excusing.

Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE Bar. 163

by EXPORTING OUR OWN, to furnish the Spanish Fleet, which supplies their West-Indies every Year in a great measure with Commodities brought them from France. The Resolutions of this State go as yet no farther, as I can hear, than to all sorts of wearing Goods and Brandy; nor do I know whether this it self will be brought to execution, before they are satisfy'd how far we are likely to join with them in it: After which, the Considerations of *Wine* and *Salt* will likewise come in play. Besides these publick Matters, I doubt you will likewise be pursu'd about Mr. *Honywood's* Widow, who is Daughter to a *Burgomaster* of *Amsterdam*, and so most properly under Monsieur *Van Beuningen's* Protection, especially being a young and handsome Widow; which, I hear, will tempt her to go over with him her self, and plead her own Cause. I do not think the Intentions of his Journey go further than what I have mention'd, unless he be invited to any thing upon the Place, or by some new Accident from abroad. In the mean time, to do him right, we shall have a great deal of reason to welcome him, because he has very industriously employ'd himself in helping us to gain our Point upon the Business of *Surinam*, which was yesterday resolv'd on by the *States-General*, tho the Province of *Zeland* protested against it. And besides, nothing has given us so hopeful a Prospect of the Prince's good Fortunes here, as the Support of the Town of *Amsterdam*, so declar'd, and so warm in his present Government; towards which I am confident Monsieur *Van Beuningen* has very much contributed, as being a Person of great Influence in that City. Your Lordship will know by the inclos'd, that Monsieur *De St. Evremond* set out this Morning towards *England*, with the *Portugal* Ambassador likewise; who both accompany Monsieur *D'Opdam* as far as *Newport*, and there embark

‘ bark for *Dover*; whilst he goes on to meet the
 ‘ *French King* at *Dunkirk*, with the *States* Com-
 ‘ pliments.

P. S. ‘ I had forgot to tell your Lordship, that
 ‘ another part of *Monfieur Van Beuningen’s* Instruc-
 ‘ tions will be, to endeavour all that can be, that
 ‘ this State may be admitted into a Conjunction
 ‘ with his Majesty, for the Pursuit of the *Algerines*,
 ‘ till they are reduc’d to the Necessity of a Peace
 ‘ with both.’

In a subsequent * Letter, *Sir William Temple* gave the Earl of *Arlington* the Character of *Monfieur Van Beuningen*, which shews what perfect knowledge he had of Men, as well as of Business: *Your Lordship*, says he, will find nothing to lessen your Esteem of his Person, unless it be, that he is not always so willing to hear, as to be heard; and out of the abundance of his Imagination, is apt sometimes to reason a Man to death: which I tell your Lordship before-hand, that you may not fall into any Prejudice before you know him well. And on the other side, I have taken some care to prevent his employing that Talent too much in your Conversations. For the rest, you will find him, fort honnête Homme, (a very honest Man) one that puts all the Good of his Country upon maintaining and cultivating his Majesty’s Alliance; and who upon the Prince’s Occasion, will deserve the Good-will of our Court. For his manner of negotiating, I am confident, you will find him not ill-bred, nor offering to impose his † Measures, as you call them, upon us: But after any Propositions and Reasons he shall lay before you, will rather tell you that you are Masters of all; and that the States will, in all things that

* Dated June 3. Ubi supra, p. 196.

† The Earl of Arlington in one of his Letters (Vol. I. p. 434.) has this remarkable Expression about *Monfieur Van Beuningen*: But if he comes to interrupt us, I mean, to lead us out of our own Measures, into some of his, he may be deceiv’d.

concern our Neighbours, perfectly follow those his Majesty shall take. This last must be understood in a complimentary way: for 'tis certain, as the Event plainly shew'd, that the States never intended to go all lengths with King Charles; who, at this very Juncture, ratify'd a secret Treaty lately concluded with France, at an Interview at Dover, between his Majesty and Madame, (the Dutchess of Orleans) his Sister, whom the King of France sent over for that purpose; while he himself went to view the stupendous Works that were raising at Dunkirk. I am not ignorant that many will not allow, there ever was a formal Treaty concluded at Dover; but whether there was any such Convention, or no, the Event abundantly shew'd, that King Charles was drawn, at least, into a verbal Assurance and Promise to favour the French Designs; either by the hopes the French gave him, of making him as absolute and arbitrary as their own Monarch: A Bait which few Princes have Power to resist; or by the Promise of a large Pension from France. This last Motive could not but be prevalent with a King, whose Revenue was too little to gratify his Pleasures, and whose Expences that way were now like to encrease: For 'tis to be observ'd, that in order to keep the British Monarch firm to the French Interest, by the most endearing Engagement, Madame left behind her Mademoiselle De Querouaille, one of her brightest Attendants; by whose Charms the amorous Prince was inflam'd at first sight; and who, soon after, became his favourite Mistress, under the Name and Title of Dutchess of Portsmouth. As for Madame, the King's Sister, she paid very dear for this Interview; for whatever was the Cause, (which then occasion'd various Surmizes) she died suddenly at St. Cloud, on Sunday the 29th of June, N. S. Upon the Report that spread over all Europe, that her Royal-Highness had not fair play for her Life, the

‘ bark for *Dover*; whilst he goes on to meet the
 ‘ *French King* at *Dunkirk*, with the *States Com-*
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the Earl of *Arlington* wrote to Sir *William Temple*,
 ‘ That the Embroilments * that were in her Do-
 ‘ mesticks, and the Suddenness of her Death, made
 ‘ the Opinion easily take place in *England*, that she
 ‘ was *poison’d*: But that the knowledg they had had
 ‘ since, of the Care taken to examine her Body; and
 ‘ the Persuasion they understood his most Christian
 ‘ Majesty was in, (whom it behov’d to know the
 ‘ matter to the bottom) that she did not die of a
 ‘ violent Death, had taken off the greatest part of
 ‘ their Suspensions. And his Lordship suppos’d the
 ‘ *Mareschal De Bellesfonds*, who arriv’d that † Eve-
 ‘ ning, would entirely convince them that they
 ‘ had nothing to lament herein, but the loss of
 ‘ this admirable Princess, without any odious Cir-
 ‘ cumstances, to make their Grief more insupport-
 ‘ able.’ He added by way of *Postscript*, ‘ That a
 ‘ Week before, he wrote to the Baron *De Isola*, such
 ‘ an Answer as he could think fit, to his long and
 ‘ fine Letter: But that his Lordship was sorry the
 ‘ Baron had not, in *England*, a better *Gladiator* to try
 ‘ his Skill with.’ In answer to this Letter, Sir *Wil-*
liam wrote || to the Earl of *Arlington*, He was very
 glad to find that the great measure of his Majesty’s Grief
 upon Madame’s Death, was a little lessen’d by the Sa-
 tisfaction he had receiv’d, that it had pass’d without
 that odious Circumstance, which was, at first, so gene-
 rally thought to have attended it; and of which he (Sir
 William) endeavour’d, in his Discourse at the Hague,
 to allay the Suspensions, since he saw his Majesty so con-
 vinc’d; tho it was a very difficult matter to succeed in,
 after so general a Possession, which had been much en-
 creas’d by the Princess (of Orange) Dowager’s Curiosity,
 to ask her Physician’s Opinion upon the Relation trans-
 mitted to one of them, from his Brother, who was the

* The Earl of Arlington’s Letters, Vol. I. p. 437.

† June 28. O. S.

|| July 15. N. S. Vol. II. p. 221.

‡

Dutch

Dutch Secretary at Paris; and pretended it came from Dr. Chamberlain, tho something different from what he transmitted into England. That however it happen'd, it had certainly all the Circumstances to aggravate the Affliction to his Majesty; which Sir William was infinitely touch'd with, as well as with the sense of an Accident in it self so deplorable: But that it is a necessary Tribute we pay for the continuance of our own Lives, to bewail the frequent, and sometimes untimely Deaths of our Friends: *Et levius fit Patientiâ quicquid corrigere est nefas.* Two excellent Reflections! But which of the two, the Latin of Horace, or the English of Sir William Temple, deserves the Preference, in point of Acuteness, I leave others to determine.

The Lord Berkley being about this time appointed Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Sir William Temple congratulated * him upon his Advancement; and that his Letter might not be altogether complimentary, he took that Occasion to observe to his Lordship, that he found, by a general Consent of the Merchants in Holland, that Ireland ran every Year an Eighth part in Debt, by importing so much beyond its Exportation; which being to be drawn out in Coin, would be a certain, tho slow Consumption of the Treasury of that Kingdom; unless remedy'd by sumptuary Laws, or Examples of lessening the Importation of foreign Commodities; or else Industry for increasing the native, which are either consum'd at Home, or carried Abroad. The first, added he, is like Diet, but the other like Exercise, to an indispos'd Body; which is the way of acquiring Strength and Vigour, whereas the former gives but barely Health. I believe the two great Improvements to be made in Ireland, are of the Fishing and the Linnen Trade: This to keep our Mony at Home, and that to fetch more in from Abroad. This Passage shews, that nothing

* Dated May 30. N. S. ubi supra, p. 193.

which

which Sir *William Temple* thought might conduce to the Prosperity and Advantage of the *British* Dominions, escap'd that great Man's Notice. And tho this Hint of settling a *Linnen Manufacture* in *Ireland* was at that time over-look'd, yet it was afterwards effectually pursu'd, to the great Benefit of that Kingdom; chiefly by the Encouragement of the late Queen *MARY*, of Ever-blessed Memory. I shall transcribe another Passage from one of Sir *William's* Letters * to my Lord *Berkley*; which shews he knew, on proper Occasions, how to lay down the Gravity of a Statesman, and to be merry, tho with Decency and Dignity, with his Friends. Having acknowledg'd the Receipt of a Letter from his Excellency, and the Favour he there express'd, both to Sir *William's* Friends in *Ireland*, and to himself; of which he was equally sensible: I doubt not, added he, but your Lordship will find in the loose Posture of Affairs in *Ireland*, a great Subject for your Prudence and Industry; in the Application whereof, I wish your Lordship all Success and Glory, being incapable, at this Distance, to make any Reflections on Particulars; either the Evils or the Redresses: Only as an old Servant, I may have the Liberty of putting your Lordship in mind of one Point, wherein your Reputation is much concern'd, and upon which, I doubt, you do not much reflect. But if you should continue this luxurious Custom, of getting a lusty Boy every Year, People will think that you live like a voluptuous young Man of twenty Years old, and not like a stay'd and wise Governor of a Kingdom: Nor am I very well satisfy'd my self, whether it be a thing that consists with the Gravity of a Privy-Counsellor, much less of a Lord-Lieutenant: but when I consider, that of a good Race we cannot have too many, I am forc'd to leave my Censures, to give your Lordship much Joy of your Irishman. Let the true Judges

* Dated July 11. N. S. Vol. II. p. 218.

of Wit and Humour pronounce, whether this is, what it appears to me, *true Attick Salt*; a Seasoning not very common in modern Writings! Nor is the remaining part of that Letter to my Lord Berkley, less entertaining: *We have nothing here in Discourse*, continues Sir William, *but the sad and surprizing News of Madame's Death*; of which your Lordship will have the Particulars from so many Hands, that I will not repeat them, nor enter into the general Reflections that are made upon it, in all Places, I think; I am sure here, without Scruple or Dispute. — The Constable is gone for Spain, and left his Government (of the Spanish Netherlands) much as he held it: nor can I judg whether it came from his natural Temper, or some contracted Indispositions; for his Health has been of late the Covert for it. But these six or eight Months past, he has been obstinate to hear nothing of Business, returning all that has been offer'd by his nearest Officers, with Quieres Matarme *? And passing his time with his Virginals, his Dwarfs, and his Gracioso's, (or Favourites.) Some say his Imagination reach'd so far, as to raise up Spirits and Assassins when he was alone. If Spain has no greater Men, 'tis pity they have so great Use of them; for I'm sure, Non tali Auxilio nec Defensoribus istis Tempus eget. He has left the Government, for the Interim, by the Queen Regent's Order, to the Count De Monterey, whom he hated; and I hear Count Marsyn says, he will not obey a Man, Qui ne fait que de naitre †; because he is but Twenty Five Years old. But they have succeeded so ill with one, Qui ne songeoit qu' à mourir ||, that, I think, it will not pass for a very just Exception; and our Friend Count Marsyn, who is hot at hand, will, I hope, come to himself, and help to keep all things quiet in Flanders till Don Juan's Ar-

* Spanish for, Will you kill me?
but just born.

† That is, Who is
|| Who thought of nothing but dying.

rival, which is now talk'd of; but I am not the easiest to believe it.

One of the most visible Alterations that appear'd in the Court of *England*, soon after their secret Engagement with *France*, was the *Persecuting of the Dissenters at Home*; of which Sir William Temple, tho a zealous Church-man, took notice to Mr. Secretary Trevor, in such a manner as shew'd the Danger of that Counsel. * I am sorry, says he *, the *Business of Conventicles gives you so much Trouble, and could wish we were at a good End of all such Controversies*; which make his Majesty appear abroad to have so great and considerable a Number of Subjects, that have not learnt to obey him; and consequently make up no part of his Strength, but seem rather, either to lessen it; and amuse People both at Home and Abroad, with Imaginations of Changes. Yet Monsieur Van Beuningen has represented it hither, as his Majesty will easier master, than you seem to be confident of. But their Interest here may help them to believe as well as to desire it; upon the Expectation of so many Persons and Stocks, as will be brought over to them upon this Occasion; and makes, as they suppose, a considerable Increase of their Trade, and Diminution of ours. By which Sir William gave sufficiently to understand, that the Spirit of Persecution is altogether inconsistent with sound Politicks.

About this time Sir William thought to have us'd his Majesty's leave for a short Journey into *Flanders*, whither he was press'd to go by the States, to settle a good Correspondence between the new Governor and Count Marsyn. But besides the Shadow of the *Surinam Business*; which, he said †, haunted him still; he was put upon a difficult piece of Work; which was, the Apprehending three Scotch Ministers that sculk'd in *Holland*; and a few Days after

* Ubi supra, p. 229.

† Ubi supra, p. 241.

he was also more particularly charg'd to seize and secure Cornet Joyce, the Person that remov'd by Force King Charles I. from *Holmby-Castle*, who liv'd in *Rotterdam*; and for the transporting of whom into *England*, one of the King's Yachts had been purposely sent to *Holland*. But tho Sir William pursu'd this Affair with all imaginable Zeal and Diligence *; insomuch, that he went himself to *Rotterdam*, and sat up two Nights without Sleep, yet it was not in his Power to succeed in it: The Magistrates alledging, ' That it was absolutely against the Privileges of their Town, to ' seize upon any Man without a particular Charge ' being ready against him: That this Man, they ' heard, was a kind of mad, extravagant Fellow: ' That having long resided in their Town, he could ' be guilty of nothing against his Majesty, unless it ' were of Words; which People were very free of ' in their Country; and amounted not to a Crime ' that was thought to deserve Imprisonment. That ' they should have been glad to know the Words ' he was accus'd of: That if they should seize a ' Man without any particular Charge, the Surety ' and Protection of their Town would be discredited, upon which much of their Trade depended: ' And that they were confident, no Town in *Holland* ' would do what was desir'd of them.' This Disappointment was so resented by the Court of *England*, that it was put in competition with the Umbrage the *Dutch* entertain'd, upon the Duke of *Buckingham's* extraordinary Embassy to *France*, soon after *Madame's* Death. ' I thank you, said the Earl ' of † *Arlington* to Sir William Temple upon that ' Occasion, for the Transcript of your Letter concerning Cornet Joyce. But I cannot but suspect there

* Ubi supra, p. 243. & seq.

† See his Letters, Vol. I. p. 450. dated Aug. 9. O. S.

‘ was foul Play, as well as Difficulty of Form, in the
 ‘ kindring of you to take him. And this I told Mon-
 ‘ sieur Van Beuningen, according to the Delicacy of
 ‘ Friendship he would have betwixt us, was, in my
 ‘ Judgment, as much a Breach of it, as our denying
 ‘ him the Knowledg of the Duke of Buckingham’s Er-
 ‘ rand.’ However, Sir William Temple fail’d not
 very dextrously taking notice to the Duke, of
 the Jealousies rais’d at the Hague by his Journey,
 in a complimental Letter, he * wrote to his Grace
 thereupon. As your Grace will, (said he) I hope,
 meet with many new Entertainments on this side the
 Water; so you must, I fear, be content with some new
 Troubles: for both usually happen upon all Changes. I
 wish your Grace all that can be of the first; and should
 not have given you any of the other, but to rejoice with
 you upon your happy Arrival at Paris. From so little
 and so barren a Scene as this is at present, I cannot
 offer at informing your Grace of any thing; especially,
 since Men expect here to receive all their material In-
 formations from your Motions, where you now are; and
 from what shall succeed them at your Return. But, to
 leave these People in their doubtful and mystical Re-
 flections, I shall not interrupt either your Grace’s Business
 or Leisure, with any thing but what is plain and cer-
 tain; for nothing is more so, than that I am with equal
 Passion and Truth, My Lord, &c.

Four Days † after the writing of this Letter,
 the States-General were not a little surpriz’d at the
 News they receiv’d from their Minister at Paris;
 which assur’d them of the March of the French
 Troops, which to the number of 30000 Men were
 to rendezvous || at Peronne. But their Surprize and
 Alarm was far greater, when, not many ** Days
 after, they heard that the French had seiz’d upon

* Dated Aug. 21. N. S. Vol. II. p. 258.

† Aug. 25. Sir W. T’s Letters.

|| Ubi supra, p. 264.

** Sept. 2. ubi supra. p. 272. & seq.

Nancy, the Capital City of *Lorraine*; and that by so unexpected and quick an Attempt, that they fail'd very little of surprizing the Duke, and had taken the Dutcheſs. That the *French* Camp near *St. Germains* was march'd towards *Peronne*; but that by Orders ſent after them, they were to be divided into two Bodies; of which one was to march to join the *Mareſchal De Crequy* in *Lorraine*, and the other towards *Sedan*, where they ſhould make a ſtand, and face any Attempts that might be deſign'd from *Flanders* or *Holland*, towards interrupting the Succeſs of their Affairs in *Lorraine*. Hereupon the *States-General*, who had hitherto been amus'd by Affurances from the King to their Ambaſſador in *London*, That nothing had been treated of by the Duke of Buckingham, nor was ever intended to be ſo in the *French Court*, to the Prejudice of his Majeſty's Alliances in *Holland*: the States, I ſay, thought fit to ſend a ſolemn Deputation to the *English* Ambaſſador, to impart to him the News they had receiv'd, of the Seizure of *Lorraine*, in the Circumſtances before-mention'd. *Monſieur De Wit*, who was at the head of this Deputation, added, ' That the States ' having conſider'd theſe Advices, had order'd them ' (the Commiſſioners) immediately to acquaint his ' Excellency with them. And further, that tho ' the States eſteem'd it a matter of ſo great Importance, that all the Parties of the *Triple Alliance* ' ought to concern themſelves in it, as wholly deſtructive to thoſe Ends of preſerving the *Spanish* ' Dominions, which were mutually propos'd in the ' ſaid Alliance; yet the States ſhould not, nor ' indeed could not proceed to new Reſolutions ' thereupon, without firſt knowing thoſe of his ' Majeſty, and being aſſur'd of his vigorous Conjunction. And hereupon they deſir'd his Excellency, to give his Majeſty Notice immediately by ' an Expreſs; to the end he might know his Ma-
' jeſty's

‘ jeſty’s Senſe and Intentions upon this Conjunſture.’ After this Monsieur *De Wit* and the other Commiſſioners, enlarg’d upon the great Importance of the Seizure of *Lorrain*; and communicated to Sir *William*, both the Account they had receiv’d, of all the *French* Preparations at Sea, and the preſent State of their own Fleet, of which they gave him a Liſt. Sir *William Temple* gave an exact Account of all this to the Earl of *Arlington*: Adding, ‘ That by all he could gather from their Diſcourſes, he judg’d they were capable of any vigorous Reſolution that his Ma- jeſty ſhould think fit to inſpire them with, in conjunction with *England*: But that without it they were reſolv’d, as they expreſs’d it, * *De laiffer agir le Bon Dieu, & de voir la France à leurs Portes ſans ſe remuer.* Upon all which they ſaid, that the Diſpoſal and BALANCE at this time, of all Affairs in theſe parts of *Chriſtendom*, lay before his Maſteſty; from whom the Empire and *Spain*, as well as *Sweden* and the States-General, might receive their Meaſures.’ He alſo acquainted the Earl, that three Days before, the Baron *D’Ifola* communicated to him a Letter from the Emperor, declaring his Reſolution to join with the *Triple Alliance*, in the Guaranty of the Peace of *Aix*. In answer to all which, Sir *William Temple* receiv’d the following Letter from † his Lordſhip.

My Lord,

Windſor-Caſtle, Sept. 1. 1670. O. S.

‘ I Have your Excellency’s of the 2d N. S. wherein you give me a particular Account of the manner of the States Commiſſioners coming to you, and the Subſtance of Monsieur *De Wit*’s Diſcourſe at the head of them; both marking the Surprise and Trouble

* That is, To leave it to God, and to ſee the *French* at their Gates, without ſtirring a Foot.

† See the Earl of *Arlington*’s Letters, Vol. I. p. 451.

‘ they

they were in, upon the *French* King's Invasion and
 Possession of *Lorrain*. Which I do not wonder
 at, considering how valuable and advantageous
 a Nation that is, towards their possessing the Re-
 mainder of the *Spanish-Netherlands*: the dividing
 them from the Succour of one another, and the
 frightening the neighbour Princes from entring into
 any Confederation for their Succour. And this
 is truly the Reflection his Majesty makes upon
 this Action. But, on the other side, he knows
 not well what to say, or how to expostulate up-
 on it, till he hears what his most Christian Ma-
 jesty will say to the World upon it: What the
 Duke of *Lorrain* will say for himself; and, in a
 word, how the Emperor, the King of *Spain*, and
 the neighbouring Princes will resent it. Which
 was the Effect of my Discourse to Messieurs *Boreel*
 and *Van Beuningen*, who came hither to speak
 with me upon it, but staid not to ask an Audi-
 ence of the King; foreseeing, as they said well,
 that his Majesty would not think fit to speak ha-
 stily, or without much Thought and Advice upon
 a matter of such Importance. Now because, at
 the same time with yours, there came another
 Letter to me from the Baron *D'Isola*; wherein he
 says, he receiv'd Letters from the Emperor, de-
 claring his purpose to enter into the *Guaranty*
 of the Peace of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, in the pure
 Terms of the said Peace, as a new *Member*
 or *Ally* — whereas we were told long ago, he
 had Powers to this effect (tho others, who
 ought to have known it, said as confidently he
 had not) for this reason; for the Delay of *Spain's*
 accommodating it self to the Arbitrage in the
 Terms it can only take effect; for this new Affair
 of *Lorrain*, and for many Considerations arising
 to his Majesty, out of the whole Contexture of
 your Negotiation in that Country; his Majesty
 commands

‘ commands me to let you know *his Pleasure*, that,
 ‘ without Delay, upon Receipt of this, you come pri-
 ‘ vately into England, leaving your House standing
 ‘ there in the Form it is, acquainting Monsieur De
 ‘ Wit therewith; as also of his Majesty’s purpose
 ‘ to send you speedily back again. And to this pur-
 ‘ pose I am commanded to write to the Baron
 ‘ D’Isola, to give him the Opportunity of open-
 ‘ ing to you, what he hath truly, and with suffi-
 ‘ cient Authority, to say to you upon this Subject
 ‘ he mentions, or any other. Whatever the Suc-
 ‘ cess of your Journey be, I shall be very glad to
 ‘ embrace you, and confirm to you the unfeigned
 ‘ Profession I have ever made, of being, Yours, &c.’

‘ P. S. Here enclos’d I write, by his Majesty’s
 ‘ Command, to his Highness the Prince of Orange,
 ‘ to know when he would have the Yachts go for
 ‘ him, to bring him into England.’

Sir William Temple imparted his Orders to Mon-
 sieur De Wit, whom he found at first * very pen-
 sive, upon the News of it; and apt to reflect up-
 on this happening so soon and unexpectedly after the
 Seizure of Lorrain; and both after the many Delays
 and Difficulties rais’d by England, in admitting the
 Emperor to the Guaranty of the Treaty of Aix, which
 the English Court formerly so much desir’d. He
 remembred the many Instances England had made
 about such a Trifle, as the carrying their Planters
 from Surinam, whom he took, by the Articles, to
 become Subjects of Holland; and the invincible Dif-
 ficulties in which they had engag’d Matters between
 the two East-India Companies: In which, he said,
 he was sure the English Merchants had no part, but
 as they were instigated by some Persons at Court;
 whose ill Intentions he fear’d towards the late Al-
 liances, both for the mutual Safety of England and

* Ubi supra, p. 278.

Holland, and that of all *Christendom*. He reflected upon a Coldness in all the Negotiations of that kind, ever since *Madame's* Journey into *England*; and upon the late Journey of the Duke of *Buckingham* to *Paris*, which he could not think was to see the Country, or learn the Language: and desir'd his Excellency (Sir William) would tell him, what he could make of all this laid together? For on the one side there were Circumstances enough to awake a suspicious Man; and on the other side, he could never think it possible for any Nation, or Court it self, to quit so certain a Point of Interest and great Point of HONOUR, as *must be forfeited* by ENGLAND'S BREAKING their ALLIANCES with HOLLAND, or ENTRING into any with FRANCE. That Sir William knew best of any, how his Majesty had engag'd the States in the late Measures, and prevail'd with them to sacrifice the ancient Kindness and Alliance they had always before with *France*, to the Considerations of the present Danger from the Greatness of that Crown; tho they might have had what Terms they pleas'd for the dividing of Flanders. That Sir William knew with what inviolable Faith and Firmness the States had constantly observ'd for the two Years past their Friendship and Alliances with his Majesty; and what great part his Excellency had in contracting and pursuing them, by the particular Confidence the States, and he especially, had in his Person, as one that was persuaded of their common Interests, that knew his Master's Mind, and would not be an Instrument to deceive those that trusted him. For these Reasons, Monsieur *De Wit* desir'd to know his Excellency's Opinion upon this whole matter, especially that of his Journey into *England*; which would be very surprizing to every body in *Holland*, and therefore he would be glad to give the News of it to the States in the best manner he could.

A a

Sir

Sir William protested to him, ' That he had hitherto
 ' receiv'd constant Assurances from both the Secre-
 ' taries of State, of his Majesty's Resolutions, to ob-
 ' serve constantly the Measures he was engag'd in to
 ' that State; and that he knew not a word more of
 ' the Reasons of his sudden Journey into *England*,
 ' than what he had told him. That he had Orders to
 ' leave his Family behind him; and that his Majesty
 ' might possibly think it necessary, for his Infor-
 ' mation, to speak with him upon the present Con-
 ' junctures; and to send him back immediately,
 ' according to my Lord *Arlington's* Letters. That
 ' he confess'd, he was apt to make many of those
 ' Reflections that Monsieur *De Wit* had done; but
 ' could not believe it possible for any Crown ever
 ' to enter into *Counsels so destructive to their Ho-*
 ' NOUR OR SAFETY as those he suspected. That
 ' if such a thing should ever happen, he desir'd him
 ' to remember what he had told him, upon the
 ' Scruples Monsieur *De Wit* made, of *trusting* the
 ' Court of *England* upon the Negotiations of the
 ' Triple Alliance: Which was, That he told him then
 ' what he thought of his Majesty's Dispositions and Reso-
 ' lutions, as well as those of his Ministers: that he could
 ' not believe it possible for them to change in point of
 ' so evident Interest, and which would be so understood
 ' by the whole Nation. That however he (Sir Wil-
 ' liam) could answer for no body besides himself; but
 ' this he would: and that if ever such a thing should
 ' happen, he would never have any part in it. That
 ' he had told the King so, as well as him, and
 ' would make it good. That for the present,
 ' there was nothing more to be said, but that he
 ' must go away for *England*; that if he return'd he
 ' (Mr. *De Wit*) would know more: but he doubted
 ' by what Mr. *De Wit* said, that he would guess
 ' more, if he (Sir William) return'd not.' Mon-
 ' sieur *De Wit* smil'd, and said, his Excellency was
 in

in the right: That, in the mean time, he would try to cure himself and others of all Suspicions upon his Journey; and would hope on t'other side, it might be of use to the common Interests, by possessing his Majesty of the great Importance of the late Seizure of *Lorrain*, and of the States Resolutions to stick close to him in all Measures he should take upon it. And so they parted.

I have dwelt the longer on the account of this last Conference, because it shews, that the two greatest Politicians which *England* and *Holland* ever bore, perfectly agreed both as to the mutual and common Interest of the two Nations; and in their Opinion, that none but a *corrupt unsound Ministry* will advise the *British* Monarch to BREAK ALLIANCES with *Holland*, or enter into any with *France*.

Sir *William Temple* would have gone away immediately upon the Summons he receiv'd; but being taken very ill, and uncertain whether it would end in a Fever, as it seem'd to begin, he was forc'd to delay his Journey for some Days. Upon his Arrival * in *London*, he went immediately † to my Lord *Arlington*, according to his Custom: But whereas, upon his several Journeys over in the late Conjunctions, his Lordship had ever quitted all Company to receive him, and always did it with *open Arms*, and in the kindest manner, he now made Sir *William* stay an Hour and half in an outward Room before he came to him, while he was in private with the Lord *Ashley*, afterwards Earl of *Shaftsbury*; and then receiv'd him with a Coldness, at which Sir *William* was surpriz'd: so that after a quarter of an Hour's Talk about indifferent matters, and not a word of the Occasion of Sir *William's* being sent for over, the latter went away. However, the next Morning Sir *William* went to him a-

* Sept. 19. O. S.

† Ubi supra, p. 293.

gain, desiring to be brought by him to kiss the King's Hand. But the Earl of *Arlington* perform'd that part of his Office without much Ceremony, bringing Sir *William* to his Majesty as he was walking in the Mall in *St. James's Park*; where the King stop'd to give Sir *William* his Hand, ask'd him half a dozen Questions about his Journey, and about the Prince of *Orange*, and so walk'd on. After this, neither the King nor the Lord *Arlington* spoke about any Business to Sir *William*; tho he was as often in their way as agreed with such an ill Courtier as he was, or a Man not in the Secret, as he found himself to be. After he had kiss'd the King's Hand, he went to see the Lord Keeper, and Mr. Secretary *Trevor*: and found the first uneasy, and apprehensive of the present Counsels; the last confident that no Endeavours could break the Measures between *England* and *Holland*; because they were esteem'd so necessary Abroad, and so rational at Home. But Sir *William*, who had more Penetration than either of them, perceiv'd them both to be barely in the Skirts of Business, and only in Right of their Posts: And that in the Secret of it, the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Lord *Arlington*, the Lord *Ashley*, and Sir *Thomas Clifford*, compos'd the Ministry.

It is to be observ'd, that however different Sir *William Temple* and Sir *Thomas Clifford* had always been in their Schemes of Government, and other matters, especially concerning the Alliance with *Holland*; so that there never was any Commerce between them further than common Civility: yet upon Sir *William's* coming over, Sir *Thomas* receiv'd him with wonderful Graciousness and Civility; and some time after desir'd a private Conference with him, about the Affairs of *Holland*. Being both met accordingly, Sir *Thomas* began with great Compliments on Sir *William's* Services to the King, in his

Employ-

Employments Abroad; went on with the Necessity of preserving their Measures with *Holland*; and concluded with wondring, why the *States* should have shew'd so much Difficulty upon those two Affairs, of *Surinam* and the *East-India* Company, wherein our Demands seem'd so reasonable; and how it came about that Sir *William*, had fail'd in compassing his Majesty's Satisfaction in those two Matters, after having succeeded so well in all his other Negotiations. Sir *William*, thinking he did not understand the Detail of those Affairs, deduc'd it to him, with the *Dutch* Reasons, which to him seem'd to be but too well grounded. Sir *Thomas* was unsatisfy'd with them all, and told Sir *William* he must undertake that matter again, and bring it to a period: and ask'd him, Whether he did not think he could bring the *Dutch* to Reason? Sir *William* answer'd plainly, *He believ'd he never could to what Sir Thomas Clifford call'd so*; and therefore was very unwilling to undertake it: That he had spent all his Shot in vain, and therefore thought their best way would be to employ some Person in it, that had more Wit and Ability than himself. Upon this Sir *Thomas* grew a little mov'd: And reply'd, 'That for Wit and Ability they all knew he had enough; and all the Question was, Whether he was willing to employ them upon this Occasion, which so much concern'd the King's Service, and the Honour of the Nation?' Hereupon Sir *William* told him, how he had us'd his utmost Endeavours in it already; how many Representations he had made to the States; how long and particular Accounts he had given to the King and his Ministers, all to no purpose; And being a little heated, after so long and unpleasant a Discourse, ask'd him, *In the Name of God, what he thought a Man could do more?* To this, in a great Rage,

Rage, Sir Thomas answer'd: Yes, * I'll tell you what a Man might do more, and what you ought to do more; which is, to let the King and all the World know, how basely and unworthily the States have us'd him; and to declare publickly, how their Ministers are a Company of ROGUES † and RASCALS, and not fit for his Majesty, or any other Prince to have any thing to do with: And this is a Part that no body can do so well as you. Sir William Temple's Answer was very calm, ' That he was not a Man fit for Declarations; that ' whenever he did upon any Occasions, he should ' speak of all Men what he thought of them; and ' so he should do of the States, and the Ministers ' he had dealt with in Holland; which was all he ' could say of the Business: and so their Conversation ended.'

Upon all these Passages, and some others that could not escape Sir William Temple's Observation, he fix'd his Judgment of the Affairs and Counsels then in agitation; and foreseeing Weather ‡ coming that he should have no mind to go Abroad in, he therefore resolv'd to get a warm House over his Head: and neither apprehend any uneasiness of Mind or Fortune in the private Life he propos'd to himself; unless some Revolutions should draw both upon him: which could not touch him alone, and must be born like a common Calamity. With these Thoughts of retiring wholly from publick Affairs, Sir William resolv'd to make his Nest, as he call'd it, as pleasant and commodious as he could afford it: and for that purpose, enlarg'd and beautify'd his House and Gardens at Sheen; towards which Expence his Father, Sir John Temple, made him a Present of 500*l*. He did not offer at any of those Advantages his Friends

* Sir W. Temple's Letters, Vol. II. p. 297.

† A favourite Expression of a Modern Minister of State, of the same Stamp, when he has occasion to talk of the Dutch.

‡ Ubi supra, p. 298.

thought

Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE Bar. 183

thought he might make, upon such a Retreat, of the King's Favour or good Opinion, by soliciting either a Pension or any other Employment: For he thought, as was hinted before, the Honour and Pay of the Posts he had been in, sufficient for the best Services of them; and if he had Credit left with the *present Ministers*, to get what was owing him upon his Embassy, he thought himself enough rewarded; considering how *different a Value* was now like to be put upon his Services in *Holland*, from what there was when they were perform'd. He wish'd the Court would have ended his Embassy in Form, and given him leave to send over for his Wife and Family; but the Ministers were, for some Months, unwilling to do either: of which Sir William easily apprehended the Reason, and went through as well as he could; tho his Expence at the *Hague* was still great, and his Hopes little of getting his Pay, as he found Affairs go in the *Treasury*; where all was dispos'd in a manner, by Sir Thomas Clifford, a Man entirely devoted to the *Popish* and *French* Interest.

All this while the *Dutch* were not a little uneasy at Sir William Temple's Absence; nor did they omit any Occasion of enquiring into his Return. Monsieur De Wit having one day * put that Question to Mr. Blaitwait, his Excellency's Secretary at the *Hague*, his Answer was, *He could not yet assure him of any certain time, but that he thought it would be very shortly.* To which Monsieur De Wit reply'd, ' That it was doubted there very much: That he ' knew the PARLIAMENT was very zealous for ' the common Interests; but that the COURT was ' not over-much dispos'd to them. That, how- ' ever, they had made one *last Effort* in a Letter to ' his Majesty; wherein they offer'd to make as

* March 9. 1671. N. S. ubi supra, p. 354, 355.

‘ strict an Alliance as could be desir’d; and that
 ‘ they took the *Absence* or *Return* of Sir William
 ‘ Temple, for an infallible Proof of the good or bad
 ‘ Will of England. He desir’d Mr. Blaithwait to
 ‘ make his Excellency his Compliments, and tell
 ‘ him this from him:’ Which he did accordingly,
 adding, That the *Dutch* had of late generally conceiv’d so ill an Opinion of *England’s* Intentions, that they quite despair’d of any Succour from thence; and therefore put themselves in a Posture of Defence. Not long after, Monsieur De Wit wrote * a complimentary Letter to Sir William Temple, which he answer’d in this manner:

SIR,

Sheen, July 25. 1671.

WITH yours of the 14th Instant, I receiv’d the Marks you were pleas’d to give me, of your Remembrance and Friendship, which I value as they deserve; and as coming from a Person who has already acquir’d the Esteem of all the World, and by that, the Right of doing much Honour to others, to whom he gives any Testimony of his own. I can pretend to no other share in it, than what your Generosity gives me, and am afraid this may do your Judgment some Injury. But knowing that your good Opinion of me is solely founded upon your knowledg of my good Intentions, I will defend my self no longer; for, after all, in this Age, there is so little Credit in being a Good Man, that few are suspected of employing their Vanity about it, any more than their Pursuits. I shall quit my Residence at the Hague with much Regret, if I had the Opinion you would have me entertain of my self: For my part, I think I should be altogether useless there, and find I am much fitter for making a good Gard’ner, than an able Minister. However, I shall ever bear much Respect and Esteem to those who are well qualify’d for the latter;

* July 14. N. S. 1671.

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* July
 p. 302.

SIR WILLIAM TEMPLE Bar. 185

which is sufficient to let you understand, that I shall never fail of either for your Person in particular; any more than of my Acknowledgments for your Civilities to me at the Hague, whereof I shall ever preserve the Remembrance, as well as the Passion wherewith I am, SIR, &c.

About this time * Sir William Temple obtain'd leave of the King, to send for his Wife and Family; and also of writing to the States and to Monsieur De Wit, to take his Leave † of them, and end his Embassy, as upon his own Desire and private Occasions: which were indeed enough to engage him in that pursuit, considering the Charge of maintaining an Ambassador's Family at the Hague, while his Payments at the Exchequer went so lame. Besides this, he had other Reasons which he kept to himself: For soon after his coming over, his Lady wrote to him, that Monsieur Gioe, the Danish Envoy there, had told her in Confidence, and out of Kindness to Sir William Temple, That Monsieur De Pomponne, the French Ambassador at the Hague, had acquainted him, that new Measures were taken between the English Court and that of France; among which one was, That Sir William should be recall'd, and return no more. In the mean time, the Court of England being acquainted with what Monsieur De Wit had told Mr. Blaithwait, That the States should take Sir William's Stay or Return, for certain signs of the King's Intentions towards their State; they were unwilling to make a Declaration, by recalling his Excellency, of what they intended upon this Occasion, before all things necessary were more fully agreed or better concerted with France: And therefore they not only continu'd Sir William Tem-

* July 1671.
p. 302. & seq.

† Sir W. Temple's Letters, Vol. II.

ple's Family at the *Hague* for so many Months, but still amus'd the *Dutch* Ambassadors with the Talk of his Return thither.

In July 1671. the *Dutch* Fleet was floating in the Channel; to shew, as Sir *William* suppos'd, that they were in a Condition to meet any of those Dangers they began long before to suspect from the Motions of *France*, and from the late Conduct of *England*. When the Captain of the Yacht, that was appointed to bring over the *English* Embassadress, took his Leave at Court, he had publick Orders given him, if he came in sight of the *Dutch* Fleet, he should sail through them, and shoot at those Ships that were next him; either till he made them strike Sail, or till they shot at him again, and then pursue his Course. He pass'd, it seems, into *Holland*, without seeing them; but as he return'd he met the Fleet, and sailing through them, made several Shot at those near him: Upon which they seeming, at least, not to know what he meant, and to believe he might be in some Distress, the Admiral sent a Boat aboard him to inquire. The Captain told them, that he had been sent to bring back the *English* Embassadress with her Family from *Holland*; and had Orders to make the *Dutch* Fleet strike, where-ever he met them in the Channel: Upon which Message by the Boat, Vice-Admiral *Van Ghent* went himself aboard the Yacht, as upon a Compliment to the Lady *Temple*. Afterwards he desir'd to speak with the Captain, of whom he inquir'd the Reason of his shooting; and receiving the same Answer, he said it was a Point they had receiv'd no Order in from their Masters, and did not know how that Affair was agreed between his Majesty and the *States*. But tho it were settled, yet the Captain could not pretend the Fleet and Admiral should strike to a Yacht; which was but a Pleasure-Boat, and could not pass for one of the

King's

Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE Bar. 187

King's Men of War. The Captain said, he had his Orders, and was bound to follow them. After Myn Heer *Van Ghent* was gone, the Captain, in great Perplexity, came to the Lady *Temple*, and desir'd to know, what she pleas'd he should do in the Case? Which she saw he did not like very well, and would be glad to get out of by her Help. The Embassadrefs told him, he knew his Orders best, and what he was to do upon them; which she left him to follow as he thought fit, without any regard to her or her Children. He pursu'd his Course, and landed her safe: after which she went to Court, and was well receiv'd, and much commended for her part in what had pass'd: And at Night Sir *Lionel Jenkins* was sent to take her Examination in Form, upon the whole Matter of Fact. When Sir *William* went next to the King's Levee, his Majesty began to speak of his Wife's Carriage at Sea, and to extol it as much as he blam'd the Captain's; saying, *She had shew'd more Courage than he:* and then fell upon the *Dutch* Insolence. Sir *William* said, That *however matters went, it must be confess'd that there was some Merit in his Family, since he had made the ALLIANCES with Holland, and his Wife was like to have the Honour of making the WAR.* The King smil'd, as well as Sir *William*, who rightly judg'd this the only way to turn the Discourse into good Humour. When he went into the King's Closet, he desir'd to kiss his Majesty's Hand upon the end of his Embassy; which the King gave him very graciously, and told him, *He had all the reason that could be, to be satisfy'd with his Services.* And upon Sir *William's* desire, that his Majesty would give him some Help in the Dispatch of his Payments due from the *Exchequer*, since he was resolv'd to ask him nothing else, and had been at so great Expence to maintain his Family at the *Hague* so long, without their Help: His Majesty told him,

He would speak to the Commissioners of the Treasury to do him justice, and in the mean time would give him the Plate belonging to his Embassy: For which he return'd his humble Thanks to the King, who seem'd very much pleas'd to see he took it kindly, and was so easily contented. Thus, says Sir William *, ended in Smoak, an Adventure which had for almost three Years made so much Noise in the World; restor'd and preserv'd so long the general Peace; and left his Majesty the Arbitrage of all Affairs among our Neighbours, by the Emperor and Spain's Resolutions, as well as Sweden and Holland's, to follow his Measures for the common Safety and Peace of Christendom.

The Dutch Ministers at the English Court, began to smell the Powder after the Captain's shooting, and knew not what Countenances to set upon the matter; but were soon after recall'd. All People, in the mean time, were full of the Expectations of what would be next: And as for Sir William Temple, he retir'd to his Country-Seat at Sheen, where he resolv'd to run the Fortune of his Country like a private Man, and to pass the remainder of his Life as quietly and innocently as he could, in the Culture and Improvement of his Mind and Garden.

Tho the Dutch were alarm'd † at Sir George Downing's being sent over upon the ending of Sir William Temple's Embassy, yet they thought it was design'd only to fright them into some great Payments, as he had endeavour'd to do before the first War began; so that they were still in hopes, that if our common Interest and Treaties should not hold us, yet they might at least buy our Friendship. Therefore the States treated Sir George Down-

* Ubi supra, p. 307.
Vol. II. p. 310.

† Sir W. Temple's Letters,

ing with all Respect and Civility; tho the common People were hardly kept in order, upon their old Hatred to him; which was well known in *England* before he went: For when the King named him for that Employment, one of the Council saying, *The Rabble will tear him in pieces*; the King smil'd, and said, *Well, I'll venture him*. But, it seems, Sir George was so wise as not to venture himself; for he came away in a Fright, without Leave or Orders: And that was the Occasion of his being sent to the Tower upon his * Arrival; which disappointed some Ends design'd by his Journey. And, indeed, none got much by it but Sir *William Temple*, who had the good Fortune to put off his House at the *Hague*, with a great deal of his Furniture, to Sir George Downing at his going over. However, this Advantage was but small, in comparison of what he lost on this Occasion, by the shutting up † of the *Exchequer*, which sunk all the Mony he had in Alderman *Backwell's* hands: so that he was above two thousand Pounds the worse for his Embassy. This Counsel was carry'd on so secretly, that no Man at Court had sufficient Warning to call in his Mony out of the Bankers hands; till Sir *Thomas Clifford* propos'd the thing in Council, without other Circumstance than saying, 'That 'twas necessary the King should have Mony upon the War with *Holland*: That he knew no other way but this; and desir'd none would speak against it, without proposing some better and easier way.' Upon this nothing more was said; the thing pass'd; and being immediately made publick, 'twas too late for any Man to call in his Mony: which made the Loss and Complaint very general, as well as particular to Sir *William Temple*.

* Febr. 7. 167 $\frac{1}{2}$.

† Jan. 2. 167 $\frac{1}{2}$.

As King *Charles II.* entred upon the Design of a second War with *Holland*, without the Advice or Consent of his Parliament, (which, by a Proclamation of the 22d of *September*, 1671. was farther prorogu'd from *April* 16. till *October* 30. 1672.) so was his Majesty oblig'd to carry it on without their Assistance; and to depend upon the Purse of his Brother the King of *France*, for the Charge of fitting out his Royal Navy. Monsieur *Colbert*, to ease his Master of part of that great Expence, advis'd his *Britannick* Majesty to seize the *Dutch Smyrna* Fleet; which would supply him at once with more Money than the Parliament was ever like to give him in several Sessions. The King and his corrupt Ministers approv'd the Overture, and the World was astonish'd at the *English* Declaration of War against *Holland*; first, by Matter of Fact, in falling on * their *Smyrna* Fleet: and in consequence of that, (however that dishonourable Attempt fail'd) by a formal Manifesto, setting forth the Reasons or rather Pretences of the Quarrel; whilst the *French* contented themselves to give no other for their Share in it, than only the Glory of their Monarch. The *Dutch* could never be possess'd with a Belief that the *English* were in earnest, till the Blow was given; but thought his *Britannick* Majesty's Unkindness and Expostulations of late, would end at last in Demands of Money, or the Prince of *Orange's* Restoration to all the Dignities of his Predecessors. The Princes concern'd in the Safety of *Holland*, could not imagine, that after having sav'd *Flanders* out of the hands of the *French*, his Majesty would suffer *Holland* to fall into the same Danger. And my Lord *Arlington* told Sir *William Temple*, that the Court of *France* did not believe it themselves, till the Blow was struck in the Attack of

* March 13, and 14, 1672.

the *Smyrna* Fleet: Upon which they immediately set out their Declaration, and began their Invasion; which was the more successful, as it was the least expected. In order to stop the Torrent of the *French* Victories, the States-General thought fit to advance the Prince of *Orange* to the Office and Power of Stadtholder; which was, soon after, attended with the Tragical end of Monsieur *John De Wit*, and his Brother. At the same time, Monsieur *Fagel* was made Pensioner of *Holland*, whose Love for his Country made him a Lover of the Prince, as believing it * could not be sav'd by any other Hand; and whose Zeal to his own Religion made him irreconcilable to *France*; whose Professions as well as Designs, were to destroy it.

This Revolution, as it calm'd all at Home, so it made the first Appearance of defending what was left of the Country. The State grew united, the Army in Heart, and foreign Princes began to take Confidence in the Honour and Constancy of the young Prince; which they had in a manner wholly lost, upon the Divisions and Misfortunes of the State. The *French* themselves turn'd all their Applications and Practices the same way, and made the Prince all the Offers that could be, of Honour and Advantage to his Person and Family, provided he would be contented to depend upon them. The Bait, they thought, could not fail of being swallow'd; and about which most Artifice was employ'd, was, the Proposal of making his Highness Sovereign of the Seven Provinces, under the Protection of *England* and *France*. And, to say truth, when so little of the Provinces was left, and what remain'd was under Water, and in so eminent Danger upon the first Frosts, this seem'd a Lure to which a meaner Soul than that of the Prince might

* *Sir W. Temple's Memoirs*, Part II. p. 23. & seq.

very well stoop: But his was above it; and his Answers always firm, That *he would never betray a Trust that was given him, nor ever sell the Liberties of his Country, that his Ancestors had so long defended.* Yet the Game he play'd was then thought so desperate, that one of his nearest Servants told Sir William Temple, he had long expostulated it with his Master, and ask'd him at last, How he pretended to live after *Holland* was lost? To which the Prince answer'd, 'He resolv'd to live upon the Lands he had in *Germany*; and that he had rather pass his Life in hunting there, than sell his Country or his Liberty to France at any Price.'

The rapid Victories of *France* occasion'd such Murmurings and Complaints in *England*, that the King was oblig'd to issue his Proclamation, for suppressing that unlawful and undutiful kind of Discourse, by a most strict and exemplary Punishment of all Persons, who should be found Spreaders of false News, or Promoters of any malicious Slanders and Calumnies in any Coffee-House, or any publick or private Meeting. But this Proclamation rather irritating, than qualifying the general ill Humour and Discontents of the People, a Declaration was publish'd in favour of the *Dutch*, viz. 'That notwithstanding the War, if any of the *Low-Country* Subjects, either out of Affection to his Majesty or his Government, or by reason of the Oppression they met with at Home from their Governors, should come into the King's Dominions, they should be, by his Majesty, protected in their Persons and Estates; his Majesty continuing in the same gracious Inclination towards all such of the Subjects of the said *Low-Countries*, as should desire to deliver themselves from the Calamity and Distress into which the ill Counsels of some prevailing Persons in the Government of those Countries had justly drawn them.'

Under

Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE Bar. 193

Under these dreadful Apprehensions the States-General sent over their Deputies to the King of *England*, to represent the common Dangers of *Europe*, in the inevitable Ruin of their own Country; and the Necessity of putting a Stop to the violent Progress of the *French* Arms. Hereupon the King appointed * the Duke of *Buckingham*, the Earls of *Arlington* and *Shaftsbury*, and the Lord *Clifford*, to meet at *Hampton-Court* the *Dutch* Deputies, to know what Proposals they had to offer to his Majesty? They reply'd, They had no Power or Instructions to make any Offer, but to hear what his Majesty would demand: Upon which the King appointed the Duke of *Bucks*, the Earl of *Arlington*, and the Lord *Hallifax*, to be his Ambassadors Extraordinary and Plenipotentiaries, to treat jointly with such as should be appointed by the most Christian King, with any Deputies or Commissioners from the States. These Ambassadors immediately sail'd † for *Holland*; were receiv'd at the *Hague* with joyful Acclamations; and proceeded to *Utrecht*, where they found the *French* King in his highest Exaltation. 'Twas commonly believ'd in *England* and *Holland*, that the true End or Subject of this Embassy, was the Jealousy the *English* had, of the *French* Conquests going on so fast, whilst their own went so lame; and great Hopes were rais'd in *Holland*, that it was to stop their Course or Extent: but these were soon dash'd by the Return of the Ambassadors, after having renew'd and fasten'd the Measures formerly taken between the two Crowns. However, the Ambassadors were content, as they pass'd thro *Holland*, that the first should be thought; which gave Occasion for a very good Repartee of the Princess Dowager of *Orange* to the Duke of *Buckingham*, who paid her a Visit at the *Hague*; and talking much

* June 20. O. S.

† June 23. O. S.

of their being good *Hollanders*, she told him, *That was more than they ask'd; which was only, that they should be GOOD ENGLISHMEN.* He assur'd her, they were not only so, but good *Dutchmen* too: That indeed they did not use *Holland* like a *Mistress*, but they lov'd her like a *Wife*. To which the Princess reply'd, *Truly, I think, you love us just as you do yours.* 'Tis likewise reported that the Duke had a long Conference with the Prince, about the bad Posture of the Affairs of his Country; and that having us'd many Arguments to him in vain, for the accepting the Sovereignty of it, under the Protection of *England* and *France*, his Grace told him at last, *He wonder'd what his Highness could propose to himself in such a desperate Case, since according to the Humour he persisted in, he must unavoidably see the final Ruin of it.* To this the Prince reply'd, *That what his Grace said concerning their dangerous Condition, was indeed true; but yet he had one way still left, not to see its Ruin compleated; which was, to lie in the last Dyke:* By which he meant, the Fighting of it out to the last. When *France* had lost all hopes of shocking the Prince of *Orange's* Constancy, they bent all their Thoughts of subduing and ruining the remainder of the Country; but his Highness with a handful of Men, and the natural Advantages of the Country, put a stop to their Career.

After two Summers * spent in a War between *England* and *Holland*, with several Engagements at Sea, but no decisive Action; both Parties began to enter upon Thoughts, and, indeed, Necessities of a Peace. The Nations had been at War without being Angry; and the Quarrel had been thought on both sides, rather of the Ministers than the Peoples. The *Dutch* believ'd it at first intended only against *De Wit's* Faction, in favour of the Prince

* Ubi supra, p. 1. & seq.

of *Orange*; and in *England* most People laid it to the Corruption of the Ministers, by the Mony of *France*; and some, who pretended to think deeper, laid it to deeper Designs. The Lord *Clifford*'s Violence in beginning it, gave it an ill Air in general, that Lord being a profess'd Papist; and the disuse of Parliaments a cruel Maim in the chief Sinews of War. The Subsidies of *France* bore no proportion to the Charge of the *English* Fleet: And the Naval Strength of *England* seem'd rather lessen'd than encreas'd by the Conjunction of that of *France*. The *English* Seamen fought *without Heart*, and were more afraid of their Friends than their Enemies; and the Discontents were so great at Land, that the assembling of the *Militia* to defend the Coasts, was thought as dangerous as an Invasion. But that which most press'd his *Britannick* Majesty to the Thoughts of a Peace, was the Resolution of *Spain* to declare War with *England*, as they had done already with *France*, in favour of *Holland*, unless the Peace were suddenly made; which would have been such a Blow to the ENGLISH TRADE, as could not easily have been fenc'd, and lost *England* that of the *Mediterranean*, as the *Dutch* War had done that of the *Northern* Seas: so as the Necessity of this Conjunction was only kept off by the Honour of the Alliance with *France*. However, that Crown being not able to furnish Supplies enough to carry on the War without a Parliament, could not oppose the calling one upon this Occasion. When the Parliament met *, the Lord-Keeper *Finch*, in a Speech to the Two Houses, made a large Deduction of the *Dutch* 'Averseness to Peace, their uncivil 'Demeanour to the King's *Plenipotentiaries* at *Cologne*, and how indirectly they dealt with the 'King in all the Overtures of Peace; and there-

* January 7. 167³/₄.

'fore a necessary Supply was demanded.' But both Houses shew'd their Discontents at the Progress of the *French* Arms, and the Prevalence of *Popish* Counsels at Home; and tho the Commons seem'd willing to give the King Mony, yet it was to make the Peace with *Holland*, and not to carry on the War: For upon his Majesty's communicating to them an Overture from the States-General, they came to an unanimous * Resolution, *That his Majesty be humbly desir'd to proceed in a Treaty with the said States, in order to a speedy Peace.*

There were too many Parties engag'd in this Quarrel to think of a General Peace, tho a Treaty to that purpose had been set on foot at *Cologne*, under the Mediation of *Sweden*, between the Ministers of the Emperor, *Spain*, *Holland*, and some Princes of the Empire on the one part, and his *Britannick* Majesty and *France* on the other; but without the least appearance of Success. For tho all the Confederates had a mind to the Peace between *England* and *Holland*, yet none of them desir'd it with *France*. This made the *Dutch* and the *Spaniards* set all their Engines at work, to engage his Majesty in some Treaty of a separate Peace, to which the Necessity of his Affairs, the Inclinations of the People, and the Instances of his Parliament at last determin'd him. The Duke of *Buckingham*, to ingratiate himself with the Commons, (whose ill Humour began to appear against those they esteem'd the chief Authors of the War) desir'd leave of that House to be heard there in his own Defence. In his Speech, among many Endeavours to throw the Odium of the War from himself on the Earl of *Arlington*, he desir'd that Lord might be ask'd, Who was the Author of the *Triple Alliance*? The Lord *Arlington* coming afterwards upon the

* January 27.

like Desire, into the same House of Commons, and answering some parts of the Duke's Speech, when he came to that particular, he told them, he could easily answer that Question of the Duke's, by telling them, That the Author of that Alliance was Sir *William Temple*. This undoubtedly occasion'd Reflections upon what had pass'd in the Course of Sir *William's* Embassies in *Holland* and at *Aix-la-Chapelle*; and suggested to the King and his Ministers the thought to send for him out of his private Retreat, where he had pass'd two Years.

On the 12th of *February* 167³₄, his Majesty receiv'd the certain Advice of the States having pass'd a Resolution, that the Charges and Dignities possess'd by the Prince of *Orange* and his Ancestors, should become Hereditary to his Children. And, at the same time, he also receiv'd a Letter from the States, with the desire of Passports for the Ambassadors they were resolv'd to send to his Majesty with Instructions and Powers to treat and conclude a Peace; and in the mean time they offer'd a Suspension of Arms. This Offer coming upon the neck of the Parliament's Advice to his Majesty, to enter into a Treaty with the *Spanish* Ambassador upon the Propositions he had advanc'd, and which the King had laid before the Parliament, it was not believ'd by the Ministers that a Treaty could be refus'd, without drawing too much *Odium* upon themselves, and Reflection upon the Government. On the other side, it was suspected what Practices might be set on foot by the *Dutch* Ambassadors, upon the general Discontent against the present War. Therefore that very Afternoon a Resolution was taken at the foreign Committee, to send, rather than receive an Embassy upon this Subject; and that Sir *William Temple* should be the Person employ'd. Two Gentlemen were sent to his House, within half an Hour of one another, from the Earl
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of *Danby* Lord High Treasurer, and the Earl of *Arlington* first Secretary of State, to order Sir *William*'s Attendance on the King. My Lord *Arlington* told him, he would not pretend the Merit of having nam'd him upon this Occasion; nor could he well tell, whether the King or Lord Treasurer did it first, but that the whole Committee had join'd in it; and concluded, that since the Peace was to be made, there was no other Person to be thought of: and accordingly the King gave Sir *William* his Commands to prepare for his Journey, with many Expressions of Kindness and Confidence. Sir *William* told the King, he was ready to obey him with a great deal of Pleasure, to see his Majesty returning to the Measures upon which he had formerly serv'd him; but, that he might do it the better, he begg'd of his Majesty that he might go over without the Character of Ambassador, which would delay or embarass him with Preparations of Equipage, and with Ceremonies there, that were unnecessary to so sudden a Dispatch. His Majesty thought what Sir *William Temple* said very pertinent, and so order'd that he should go only as *Plenipotentiary*; but that he should have in all kinds the Appointment of Ambassador; and that he should take upon him the Character too, when the Peace was concluded.

Within three Days Sir *William* was ready; and the Morning his Dispatches were so too, the Marquis of *Frezno*, the *Spanish* Ambassador, sent my Lord *Arlington* word, that he had receiv'd full Power from the States to treat and conclude a Peace, and was ready to enter upon it, whenever his Majesty pleas'd. The Lord *Arlington* surpriz'd, was at first of Opinion the King should go on in his own way, and give the *Spaniards* no part in this Affair: But Sir *William Temple*, who happen'd to be with the Lord *Arlington* when the Message came, was of another Mind; and that besides the Point of Ho-

nour,

nour, which was clear, in having the Peace made rather at *London*, than at the *Hague*, he thought that of Interest might be better pursu'd. Besides, he believ'd the *Spaniard* would play fair in a Game that he thought so much his own, and not suffer the *Dutch* to stop at any small Points, especially those of Honour; whereof that of the Flag (tho such) was one his Majesty ought to lay most at Heart. The Lord *Arlington* agreed with Sir *William*, who having acquainted the King with it, his Majesty seem'd pleas'd with the Change, and told him, That since he did not treat the Peace at the *Hague*, he should however at *London*; and bid him go and acquaint the Marquis of *Frezno* with his Resolution, That if they two could agree upon the Terms, the thing should be done.

The Terms to be insisted on were soon agreed to by the King at the foreign Committee, which was compos'd of the Lord-Keeper *Finch*, the Lord-Treasurer, the Lord *Arlington* and Mr. *Henry Coventry* Secretaries of State, with whom his Majesty order'd Sir *William's* Attendance upon this Occasion. When Sir *William* had receiv'd his Instructions, he went to the Marquis of *Frezno*, and at three Meetings concluded the whole Treaty, with Satisfaction to his Majesty, and Transport to the Marquis, upon so great an Honour, as he thought it, to himself, and the Fortunes he expected upon it from his Master. The two Points of greatest Difficulty were that of the Flag, and the Re-calling of *English* Troops from the *French* Service. This last was compos'd by private Engagements, to suffer those that were there to wear out without any Recruits, and permit no new ones to go over; but at the same time, to give leave for such Levies as the States should think fit to make in his Majesty's Dominions, both of *English* and *Scotch* Regiments. The other of the Flag, was carry'd to all the Height
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his Majesty could wish; and thereby a Claim of the Crown of *England*, the Acknowledgment of its Dominions in the Narrow Seas, allow'd by Treaty to the *English*, from the most Powerful of their Neighbours at Sea; which had never been yielded by the weakest of them, and had serv'd hitherto but for an occasion of Quarrel, whenever either of the two Nations had a mind to it. The Sum of Money given his Majesty by the States, tho it was not considerable in it self, and less to the King, by the greatest part of it being apply'd to the Prince of *Orange's* Satisfaction for his Mother's Portion that had never been paid; yet it gave the King the whole Honour of the Peace, as the Sum given by the Parliament upon it, and the general Satisfaction of the People, made the Ease of it.

Thus ended our Part of a War, so fatal to the rest of Christendom, in the Consequences of it; which was begun, and carry'd on as far as it would go, under the Ministry of five Men, usually call'd the CABAL; a word unluckily falling out of the five first Letters of their Names; that is, *Clifford*, *Arlington*, *Buckingham*, *Ashley*, and *Lauderdale*. But tho the Counsels of these Men had begun the War with two unusual Strains to the Honour of the Crown, in the Attack of the *Smyrna* Fleet, and the shutting up the Exchequer; yet it must be allow'd them to have succeeded well in the Honours and Advantages they propos'd to themselves: *Clifford* having gain'd by it the Title of a Baron, with the Treasurer's Staff, which he was, however, forc'd to lay down some Months before the Meeting of the Parliament, on account of his being a *Roman* Catholick: *Ashley* (the Earl of *Shaftsbury*) the Chancellor's place, which by the prevalency of the *Popish* Faction, was taken from him: *Arlington* an Earldom, with the *Garter*; and *Lauderdale* a Dukedom with the *Garter*. The Duke of *Buckingham* being

being already possess'd of all the Honours the Crown could give of that kind, made no better Bargain in this matter, than he us'd to do in all others that concern'd him; and so pretended no further than Commands in the Army. And thus, instead of making so great a King as they pretended by this *Dutch War*, and *FRENCH ALLIANCE*, they made only, (as was since done by a *PEACE*) *Four great Subjects.*

After the Peace was made, the King's first Care was to soften the stroke as much as he could towards *France*; which was done, by representing the Necessities of it, (that needed no false Colours) and, at the same time, to offer his Mediation between the Parties remaining still in War, in case *France* either desir'd or accepted of it; which took up some time to determine. In the mean while, Sir *William Temple* continu'd in the thoughts of the private Man he was in before this Revolution, till about a Week after, when the Earl of *Arlington* acquainted him, how kindly the King took both the readiness he had express'd in going over into *Holland*, and the Pains and Success in the Treaty with the *Spanish* Ambassador; and not knowing any thing better he had to give him, he was resolv'd to send him Ambassador Extraordinary into *Spain*; and to that purpose, immediately to recal Sir *William Godolphin*, the ordinary Ambassador there. Sir *William Temple* acknowledg'd the Honour the King intended him, but desir'd time to give his Answer, till he had consulted his Father, who was then in *Ireland*, and who prov'd so violent against it, that Sir *William* could not find any Temper to satisfy him; and upon it, was forc'd to make his Excuses to the King. His Majesty was pleas'd to tell him, 'He did not at all take it ill of him; and that, 'on the contrary, he intended him a better Employment: That he was at present engag'd for

' the Secretary's Place, upon the Lord *Arlington's*
 ' Promotion to that of Lord-Chamberlain; but that
 ' he resolv'd the next Removal should be to make
 ' room for him.' This Sir *William* told the Lord
Arlington, who presently said, ' That he believ'd
 ' Sir *William* could not refuse the *Spanish* Embassy,
 ' but upon Design of the Secretary's Place; and
 ' since he desir'd it, and the King fell into it of
 ' himself, he would play the easiest part in it that
 ' he could: That he was, indeed, agreed with
 ' Sir *Joseph Williamfon* for 6000 l. and the King had
 ' consented that he should enter upon it at his re-
 ' turn from *Cologne*; but yet he made such a dif-
 ' ference between the Persons, that he would find
 ' some way to avoid it, in case Sir *William Temple*
 ' would lay down the 6000 l.' Sir *William* assur'd
 his Lordship he had no such design, nor had a Sum
 of Mony to lay down, while his Father enjoy'd the
 Estate of the Family: That if he had, he should
 be very unwilling to pursue it so far, as to give
 his Lordship any strain in a matter already pro-
 mis'd and concluded; and therefore desir'd him to
 think no farther of it. But the Lord *Arlington*
 was not of Opinion Sir *William* could stick at any
 thing but the Mony; and acquainted Mr. *Monta-*
gue and Mr. *Sidney*, who were Friends to them
 both, with this Transaction; and set them upon
 Sir *William* to bring it to an issue, before Sir *Jo-*
seph came over. They both endeavour'd it with great
 Earnestness; and Mr. *Montague* (the late Duke of
 that name) was so kind as to offer Sir *William* to
 lend him the Mony, but the latter was positive in
 refusing it: yet, at the same time, he told my Lord
Arlington, that not to seem humorous, in declining
 the Offers his Lordship had made him from the
 King, or from himself, if his Majesty had occasion
 to send an Embassy into *Holland*, he would very wil-
 lingly serve him there, where he knew the Scene
 so

so well: And so that matter slept for the present.

In the mean while, *France* had thought fit to accept the King's Offer of Mediation, that of *Sweden* being ended by the Assembly at *Cologne's* breaking up in Expostulations and Quarrels, upon the Emperor's seizing the Person of Prince *William* of *Fursterbergh*, a Subject of the Empire, but an Instrument of *France*, as his Brother, the Bishop of *Strasburgh*, had been in all the late Designs of that Crown upon their Neighbours. Hereupon the King told Sir *William*, that having resolv'd to offer his Mediation to all the Confederates, as he had done already to *France*, he was resolv'd to send him Ambassador Extraordinary to *Holland*, as the Scene of their Common Counsels; and that he should have the same Allowance he should have had in *Spain*. Upon this Offer, Sir *William Temple* made no Demur, but immediately accepted it; and so his Embassy was declar'd in *May* 1674.

We must here observe, that upon the strength of the late Peace between *England* and *Holland*, the Prince of *Orange* concerted with the *German* and *Spanish* Troops to begin an Offensive War; and at the head of above forty Thousand Men, (a great Army in those Days) to march into *France*. Hereupon the *French* began now to wish the War well ended; and his *Britannick* Majesty, on the other hand, was desirous to make *France* some amends, for making a separate Treaty, by mediating a general Peace. The only difficulties that appear'd in this Affair, were what the Confederates were like to raise on accepting the King's Mediation, whose late Engagements with *France* had made him thought very partial on that side. And the House of *Austria* finding that Crown now abandon'd by *England*, had too greedily swallow'd the hopes of a Revenge upon them, to desire any Treaty, till the Successes they

expected in the War, might at least make way for reducing *France* to that of the *Pyrenees*.

Sir *William Temple* having * often reflected on the unhappy Issue of his last publick Employments, and the fatal Turn of Counsels in the *English* Court, that had occasion'd it, against so many wise Men's Opinions, as well as his own, he resolv'd, before he went on this Embassy, to know the ground on which he stood; and in order to that, to sound the King's true Sentiments and Dispositions, as to the Measures he had now taken, and trust no more to those of his Ministers, who had deceiv'd either him (Sir *William*) or themselves. Therefore, at a long Audience in his Majesty's Closet, he took occasion to reflect upon the Conduct and Ministry of the late *Cabal*; *How ill his Majesty had been advis'd to BREAK MEASURES AND TREATIES SO SOLEMNLY TAKEN AND AGREED*; how ill he had been serv'd, and how ill succeeded, by the violent Humour of the Nation's breaking out against such Proceedings; and by the JEALOUSIES of *Arbitrary* and *Popish* Counsels, they had rais'd against the *Crown*. The King said, 'Twas true, he had succeeded ill, but if he had been well serv'd he might have made a good Business enough of it; and so went on to justify what was past. Sir *William Temple* was sorry to find such a Presage of what might again return from such a Course of Thought in the King; and so went to the bottom of that matter. ' He shew'd how difficult, if not impossible, it was to set up here the same Religion or Government that was in *France*: That the universal Bent of the Nation was against both: That many who were, perhaps, indifferent enough in the matter of Religion, consider'd it would not be chang'd here but by an Army;

* See his *Memoirs*, Part II. p. 30. & seq.

‘ and that the same Force which made the King
 ‘ Master of their Religion, made him Master of
 ‘ their Liberties too. That in *France* there was
 ‘ none to be consider’d but the Nobles and the
 ‘ Clergy: That if a King could engage them in
 ‘ his Designs, he had no more to do; for the Pea-
 ‘ sants having no Land, were as insignificant in the
 ‘ Government, as the Women and Children are
 ‘ here. That, on the contrary, the great Bulk of
 ‘ Land in *England* lies in the Hands of the Yeo-
 ‘ manry or lower Gentry; and their Hearts are
 ‘ high by Ease and Plenty, as those of the *French*
 ‘ Peasantry are wholly dispirited by Labour and
 ‘ Want: That the Kings of *France* are very great
 ‘ in Possessions of Land, and in Dependances, by
 ‘ such vast Numbers of Offices, Military and Civil,
 ‘ as well as Ecclesiastical; whereas those of *Eng-*
 ‘ *land* having few Offices to bestow, having parted
 ‘ with their Lands, their Court of Wards, and
 ‘ Knights Services, have no means to raise or keep
 ‘ Armies on foot, but by Supplies from their Par-
 ‘ liaments; nor Revenues to maintain any foreign
 ‘ War by other ways. That if they had an Army
 ‘ on foot, yet, if compos’d of *English*, they would
 ‘ never serve Ends that the People hated and fea-
 ‘ red. That the *Roman Catholicks* in *England* were
 ‘ not the Hundredth part of the Nation, and in
 ‘ *Scotland*, not the two Hundredth: and it seem’d
 ‘ against all common sense, to think by one part
 ‘ to govern Ninety Nine that were of contrary
 ‘ Minds and Humours. That for foreign Troops,
 ‘ if they were few, they would signify nothing but
 ‘ to raise Hatred and Discontents; and how to
 ‘ raise, to bring over at once, and to maintain
 ‘ many, was very hard to imagine. That the Force
 ‘ seeming necessary to subdue the Liberties and
 ‘ Spirits of this Nation, could not be esteem’d less
 ‘ than an Army of threescore Thousand Men,
 ‘ since

‘ since the *Romans* were forc’d to keep twelve Le-
 ‘ gions to that purpose; the *Norman* (*William* the
 ‘ Conqueror) to institute sixty two Thousand
 ‘ Knights Fees; and *Cromwel* left an Army of near
 ‘ eighty Thousand Men. That he (*Sir William*)
 ‘ never knew but one Foreigner that understood
 ‘ *England* well, which was *Monsieur Gourville*, (whom
 he knew the King esteem’d the soundest Head of
 any *Frenchman* he had ever seen), ‘ That when he
 ‘ (*Sir William*) was at *Brussels* in the first *Dutch*
 ‘ War, and *Mr. Gourville* heard the Parliament
 ‘ grew weary of it, he said, *The King had nothing*
 ‘ *to do but to make the Peace*: That he had been
 ‘ long enough in *England*, seen enough of our Court,
 ‘ and People, and Parliament, to conclude, * *Qu’un*
 ‘ *Roy d’Angleterre qui veut être l’Homme de son*
 ‘ *Peuple, est le plus grand Roy du Monde; mais s’il*
 ‘ *veut être quelque chose d’Avantage, par D——u il*
 ‘ *n’est plus rien.*’ The King heard *Sir William* very
 attentively, but tho he seem’d a little impatient at
 first; yet, at last, he said, *Sir William* had reason in
 all, and so had *Gourville*; and laying his Hand upon
Sir William’s, he added, † *Et je veux être l’Homme*
de mon Peuple.

Sir William Temple’s Dispatches being finish’d at
 the Treasury, as well as the Secretary’s Office, he
 went away in *July*. His Instructions were in ge-
 neral, To assure the States of his Majesty’s Friend-
 ship, and firm Resolution to observe his Treaties
 with them; then to offer his Mediation in the
 present War, which both they and almost all *Chri-*
stendom, were engag’d in; and after their Accep-
 tance of it, to endeavour it likewise with all their

* *That is*, That a King of *England*, who will be the MAN
 of his People, is the greatest King in the World; but if he
 will be something more, by G—d he is nothing at all.

† And I will be the MAN of my People.

Allies; and, to that end, to engage the Offices and Intervention of the States: But, in particular, immediately after his Arrival at the *Hague*, to repair to the Prince of *Orange*, to give him part of his Majesty's Intentions in all this Affair, and Assurance of his Kindness; and engage his Highness, as far as could be, to second his Majesty's Desires, in promoting a general Peace, wherein the *United Provinces* seem'd to have the greatest Interest.

Upon his Arrival at the *Hague*, Sir *William* deliver'd his Credentials to the President of the Week, and made a Visit to Pensionary *Fagel*, wherein he discover'd a strong Inclination in the States to a Peace, as far as the Honour and Engagements to their Allies would allow them; and was assur'd of the States accepting his Majesty's Mediation. After this, his Excellency went to *Antwerp*, in hopes to have found the Prince of *Orange* at his Camp between *Antwerp* and *Louvain*, where he had lain some time expecting the Advance of the Confederate Troops; but his Highness having march'd beyond *Louvain* two Days before, Sir *William* went to *Brussels*, there to desire a Guard to convey him to the Camp. Having sent his Secretary to the Count *Monterey* with his Compliments, and Desires of a Guard, the Count return'd the first very coldly, and the other with Excuses that amounted to a Refusal. The truth was, the *Spaniards* were grown so jealous of his Majesty's Mediation offer'd at the *Hague*; of the States and People's violent Humour to a Peace; and of the Offices they thought Sir *William Temple* might use to slacken the Prince of *Orange* in the vigorous Prosecution of their present Hopes and Deligns; that he found it was resolv'd by the *Spaniards*, in concert with the Prince, to delay first, and then to hinder any Interview between his Highness and him, till the Campaign was ended. Sir *William* being sensible of this, and unwilling
to

to expose either his Majesty's Character, or Credit with his Nephew, he very prudently return'd to the *Hague*, where he had long Conversations with the Pensioner; by which he gain'd the Lights necessary to discover the whole present Scene of Affairs, and Pulses of the Confederates, in what related to the General Peace. His Excellency told him, how much his Majesty was satisfy'd with that he had lately made with the States; how much he was resolv'd to continue and to cultivate it: How much reason he had to be content with the Posture he had left him in, viz. at Peace with all his Neighbours, while they were all at War. That Advantages of Commerce from it, were enough to make him trouble himself no farther about the Peace of Christendom, if his Goodness and Piety did not prevail more with him, than his Interest. But that these, and the Desire of a general Good, had persuaded him to offer his Mediation in the present Quarrels. That it had been already accepted by France, and that the Emperor and Spain had answer'd, They would consider of it. That the States Ambassadors at London assur'd his Majesty, their Masters would be pleas'd with it, and doubted not their Consent, that the Treaty should be at London; and that thereupon his Majesty had charg'd him with a Letter to the States, to offer them his Mediation. That he could not doubt their accepting it with the best Grace that could be; for he knew their Interest was to have a Peace, and not to disoblige the King. That if his Majesty were partial to any side, they ought to believe it would be to that wherein his own Nephew was so deeply concern'd; and the more, because he offer'd his Offices towards a Peace, at a time when the Advantages and the Preparations for the War run so high on the French side, as he doubted the Events might shew, if it continu'd. That they knew his Majesty's Interest would not suffer him to see Flanders lost; and that considering what had past, his Honour would not suffer to think of pre-
serving

serving it any other way than by that of a Peace. That he would be glad to see that Country left by the next Peace, in a better Posture of Defence than it was by the last; and the Spanish Territories lie closer and rounder than they were then left. And that when this should be concluded, his Majesty would be ready to enter into the strongest GUARANTY they could desire, and might with Honour enter into a War to preserve it, tho he would not to obtain it.

The Pensionary gave Sir William thanks for his good Offices in the late Peace, and in all the Measures of Friendship that had interceded between his Majesty and them since the first Breach: He applauded the King's Resolution in so pious and generous an Offer, and acknowledg'd his Interest might lead him to other Dispositions: That he doubted not the States willingness to accept it; all the difference would be about the Time, and the Manner of doing it. As to this, he said, they could not do it without the Communication at least of their Allies, but would immediately give them part of his Majesty's Offer, and the States Dispositions to receive it. That for the Terms of Peace, as to their own parts they would be content to make his Majesty the Arbiter of it. That they had lately recover'd all the Towns they had lost, except Grave and Maestricht, the last of which was in some manner engag'd to Spain, when it should be recover'd; and for the other, they doubted not to have a good account of it very soon, Orders being already given to invest it. But he doubted whether their Allies would be so easy in their Expectations or Demands; and that 'twas impossible for the States to leave them, who had sav'd their Country from Ruin, when two so great Kings had invaded them; nor to BREAK THE TREATIES which they had made Offensive with the Emperor, Spain, and Brandenburg. That the Terms stipulated with Spain oblig'd them to reduce France to the TREATY OF THE PYRENEES;

NEES; but only a Reserve was made by one Article, which was, Unless it should be otherwise agreed by consent between them. That whatever Spain would be content with should satisfy them, tho they were both equally sensible of the DESIGNS and AMBITION of FRANCE, as well as of their Grudge to the States. That they could never hope for such another Conjunction, to reduce them to such Bounds and Measures as might be safe to their Neighbours, and give Quiet to Christendom. That it was an ill time to enter into the Terms of a Peace between France and Spain, because they knew they should have ill Grace to demand the Restitution of any Towns the Spaniards had lost in Flanders by the last War, and given up by the Peace that succeeded it; and yet his Majesty knew as well as they, that without it a Peace could never be safe for Flanders, nor for Holland, nor consequently for England. But he believ'd there would not pass many Days before some decisive Action would happen between the two Armies, now not far distant in the Field, which would make room for the Negotiation of Peace that might succeed next Winter; in which his Majesty would find the Interests and Humours of a Trading Country, as theirs was, very strong, and dispos'd to press their Allies, as far as it was possible, to facilitate so great and so good a Work. And for the rest of the Allies, besides Spain, he had no reason to suspect any great Difficulties would arise, so little having yet pass'd in the War between France and them.

The Pensionary had reason to expect some sudden Action in the Field: for about the middle of August was fought the Battle of Senef, between the Confederates under the Command of the Prince of Orange, and the French under the Prince of Condé. But it prov'd not an Action so decisive as was expected from two Armies of so great Force, and so animated by the Hatred and Revenge of the Parties, as well as by the Bravery and Ambition of

of the Commanders. The Success of this Fight was so differently reported by those that engag'd in it, that it was hard to judge of the *Victory*, which each challeng'd; and, perhaps, neither with any great Reason. The Allies claim'd it, because they were last upon the Field; and the *French* upon the greatest Number of Prisoners and Standards they carry'd away: But whoever had the Honour, they both felt the Loss. After the Repair necessary in each Camp, both Armies took the Field again, and gave a general Expectation of another Battle; but the Prince of *Condé* chose and fortify'd his Encampments so, as not to be forc'd to one without apparent Disadvantages. Hereupon the Prince of *Orange* set down before *Oudenarde* in *September*, and had his end, of drawing the Prince of *Condé* out of his cautious Marches; who came immediately to relieve it. Upon sight of the *French* Army, the Prince of *Orange* propos'd to draw out and attack them before they were rested after their hard Day's March. The *Spaniards* were content, but Count *Souches* would not agree to it, and so this Occasion was lost; and with such Discontent among the Generals, that the next Day the *Germans* left their Trenches, and marching away about a League, left room to the *French* to put what Relief they pleas'd into the Town. Hereupon the Prince of *Orange* was forc'd to rise too; and having left part of the *Dutch* Forces with Count *Monterey*, went himself with the rest to press the Siege of *Grave*; being resolv'd, since he fail'd in what he design'd to do in favour of the *Spaniards*, to free his own Country from the last Mark of their intended Servitude.

While his Highness was engag'd in this Siege, the King of *England* was very intent to have the Peace made; and therefore Sir *W. Temple* gave an account to his Highness by Letter, of what he had said to the States at his Audience, and of the general Scope

of his Embassy. Some time after * Sir William wrote another Letter to the Prince to this effect: *Your Highness will have receiv'd one, before this comes to you, from his Majesty's own Hands; and, at length, what you could desire more of his Majesty's particular Kindness to your Highness's Person and Interests, and of his Intentions upon the Subject of the Peace; both as to the PRESERVATION of Flanders, and the GUARANTY of Peace, if it were once concluded: Towards which your Highness must furnish the first Materials.* To this last Letter the Prince return'd † an Answer, *That he had only time to tell his Lordship, he had receiv'd his kind Letter, and had answer'd that of his Majesty in such a manner, as he hop'd would be satisfactory; and that when he had more time to discourse it with his Lordship, he did not doubt but that he would confess, he was not able to go any farther: Which must be suppos'd to be the Terms on which the King would have the Peace made.*

In the mean time, Sir William Temple was not idle at the *Hague*: For upon occasion of the Dutch seizing an *English* Merchant-man call'd the *Rebecca*, he presented two Memorials to the States; wherein he demanded the Restitution of that Ship, and claim'd a free Trade for all || *English* Ships, and the Merchandize they carry'd, if not Contraband, without any Exception of their Trading from one Enemy's Port to another; which, he insisted, could not be drawn from the Words of the Articles. He told their High Mightinesses very plainly, ' That if ' any Doubt might arise upon the Sense of any Article in Treaties subsisting between his Majesty ' and them, it could not be resolv'd without his ' Majesty's consent; and till that was obtain'd, they

* Octob. 15. N. S. See Sir W. Temple's *Letters*, Vol. III. p. 54.

† Octob. 21. N. S.

|| Sir W. Temple's *Letters*, Vol. III. p. 70. & seq.

' could

‘ could not make themselves the sole Judges or Interpreters, against the plain common Sense of any Words, and to the Prejudice of his Majesty’s Subjects.’ This was the Point Sir *William* put all the weight upon in his Memorials; besides which, he had a Conference with the Pensionary *Fagel* upon this matter. The Heads of the Pensionary’s Arguments were, The Judgment, he pretended, of several Authors upon the Point; and the Practice of *France*, *Spain*, and *Sweden*, with them; and of *England* also in the time of King *James* and King *Charles I.* of which he undertook to give Examples; urging, That it could not be the meaning to drive an Enemy’s Trade, but only to preserve a Friend’s. Sir *William Temple* easily eluded this last, by his sincere Protestations, that at his signing the Confirmation of those Articles, he had no such Sense of them as the Pensionary would now give them; but took the meaning of them to be just the same with the Words, *viz. That free Ships made free Goods* in all Cases, unless that of *Contraband*. As for the Sense of Authors writing upon general Themes, and for their own Credit, or that of their Professions, he said, ‘ They could not be admitted to interpret any particular Treaties between Princes and States, who might make what Agreement they pleas’d between themselves; and very different from what Authors call *Jus Gentium*, or general Reason; by which they commonly mean their own. That for the Practice of other Kings with them, it was no Rule of theirs with his Majesty; nor any Agreement that the *English* should not have Justice from the *Dutch*, because the *Dutch* could not obtain it from others: But, on the contrary, tho they had it not, yet they ever demanded it both of *France* and *Spain*; which was a certain Proof, that they esteem’d that Just in their own Case, which they would not allow to be so with

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‘ respect

‘ respect to *England*.’ As for the Practice he offer’d to produce, in the late King’s time, Sir *William* said, ‘ He should be content to see it, but could not tell how it would square with the present Case; since it was grounded upon Articles never in force between his Majesty and this State, till the Treaty of *Breda*. He added, How unjust their Pretence was, to make a wrested Interpretation of plain Words, without his Majesty’s Consent. That it was not fair to do it at a time, when the Advantage of such an Article was only cast on the side of *England* by the common Revolutions of War and Peace; which might be in their Favour the next Day, as they were at present in ours: Whereas when the Advantage was, by like Accidents, cast on their side, as it had been with *France* and *Spain*, they had ever insisted on the very same Point that *England* now did, and never given over the Instances upon it, whether they receiv’d Satisfaction or no.’ After a long and warm Debate, Sir *William* gain’d this from the Pensionary, That for his own part, he was content it should be as his Excellency desir’d it, since the King understood it so, and it was to be reciprocal between the two Nations. That he could do nothing on it, in the States-General, till the States of *Holland* assembled, which would be within a Fortnight. That he would then propose it there, and endeavour their Compliance with his Majesty; especially if the Prince, at his Return, approv’d of it: and that, in the mean time, he would endeavour to have the Goods in the *Rebecca*, or the Product of them, deposited, till the States came to a Resolution in this matter; the Ship it self being already set at liberty, and gone, pursuant to a Resolution taken by the States in *May* last. This single Passage clears Sir *William Temple* from any unjust Imputation of Partiality

Partiality to the *Dutch*; and evinces, that in his Embassies at the *Hague*, he was equally attentive to, and studious to promote the general Good and Safety of *Christendom*, and the particular Interest of his own Country.

Upon the Reduction of *Grave*, about the beginning of *November* N. S. forty Pitch Barrels were sent, * by Order of the States, to the *English* Ambassador's House, towards the intended Bonfires, being in proportion to other foreign Ministers: But Sir *William* order'd them to be sent back, and told some of the States, That whenever he made any such Fire, he would do it upon his Majesty's Charge, and no other; That in the mean time, he did not think fit to do it at all upon this Occasion, when his Majesty had offer'd his Mediation in a Quarrel lying between two of his Allies; and that it would not look like the Part of a Mediator, to have his Minister thus concern himself in Successes of either side. A pregnant Instance of his Circumspection on all Occasions.

As soon as the Prince came to the *Hague*, Sir *William* † acquainted him, by word of Mouth, with his Majesty's personal Kindness and Esteem for his Highness; his Resolution to cultivate his present Friendship with the States; and Desire to see a General Peace restor'd to *Christendom*; in which he intended to act wholly in concert with his Highness, whose Opinion, as to the thing, and the Conditions most necessary for his Highness to insist on, his Majesty very much desir'd to understand as soon, and as fully as he could. The Prince answer'd the *English* Ambassador with Expressions of Duty and Kindness to his Majesty, and Desires of a near Conjunction between the two Nations; which he thought

* November 5. N. S. ubi supra, p. 75.

† See his *Memoirs*, Part II. p. 67. & seq.

alone could make his Majesty safe at Home and Abroad. For the Peace, he said, Tho he could make many Complaints of both the Spaniards and Imperialists Conduct since their Treaties, yet the States could not with any FAITH or HONOUR, make any SEPARATE PEACE upon any Terms that France could offer them. That a GENERAL PEACE could not be made, without leaving Flanders in a Posture of defending it self upon any new or sudden Invasion, against which no Guarantees could secure it. That Spain could not upon any Terms quit the Country of Burgundy or Cambray, or any thing in Flanders, beyond the Treaty of the Pyrenees, unless it were Aire and St. Omer. This, his Highness said, was his Opinion; but if he might know the King's, and find it at all consistent with the SAFETY of his Country, and his own Honour towards his Allies, he would do all he could to bring it about, as he had already done the Point of his Majesty's Mediation; which was accepted at Vienna and Madrid. Sir William Temple told the Prince, That the King having been the Author and Guarantee of the Peace of Aix-la-Chapelle, and not having yet seen the French beaten out of any Town that was given them by that Treaty, could with ill Grace propose any thing to France beyond those Terms, unless it were upon some Equivalent. The Prince reply'd resolutely, 'Twere better going on with the War, let it last as long, and cost as much as it would. That his Majesty might, if he pleas'd, induce France to whatever he thought just; and could never shew him so much Kindness as to bring him out of this War with Honour. If he would not, it must go on till some Change happen'd in the Condition of the Parties, to make the Peace necessary on one side or other. How it would fall out he could not tell, and must leave it to God; but he thought they had as fair a Game as the French. That he was sure they might have been absolutely beaten at Seneff, if Count Souches had pleas'd; and have had a fair Blow for it at Oudenarde. That

be was sure Germany could furnish more and better Men than France; and they were now in a manner united in the common Defence; and he hop'd the Emperor's Counsels would not be so betray'd as they had been: That, however, he must perform what his own Honour, as well as that of the States, was engag'd in to their ALLIES, let it cost what it would.

Sir William seeing the Prince unmovable upon these Discourses, he turn'd them another * way, and said: Tho his Majesty would omit nothing that became a Christian King and a Friend to his Highness, in the good Offices towards a Peace, yet if they were not understood to be so, his Majesty might, perhaps, content himself to grow rich, by the Encrease of his Customs and of Trade; and let the Dutch and their Neighbours knock their Heads together as long as they pleas'd. The Prince smil'd, and said, He believ'd so: And for that reason Sir William talk'd of Terms, which his Excellency knew the Spaniards could not accept of. And then he fell again into Talk, how easy it was for his Majesty to bring France to such a Peace as he pleas'd, and how much it was his Interest to leave Flanders safe.

There was one Point more Sir William Temple enter'd into with the Prince, which was upon occasion of the many discontented Persons in England, at the Course of the last Ministry and War, who were suspected to have trinckled at least with Holland, about raising Seditions, and perhaps, Insurrections in England, if the War continu'd; and the Dutch Fleet should appear upon the English Coasts, that were like to be unguarded the next Summer, by the Straits his Majesty was in for Mony to set out a Fleet. It was believ'd, among many others, the Lord Shaftsbury was one that had of late play'd this Game; who having been as deep as any Man

* See his Letters, Vol. III. p. 79.

in the Counsels of the *Cabal*, and gone so far in the publick Applause of them, as in a Speech in Parliament, to have apply'd the *Delenda Carthago* to the Interest of *England*, in the Destruction of *Holland*; yet when he saw the Parliament and Nation fullen upon it, and that the King could not pursue it against the general Sense of his Subjects in both, he turn'd short upon the Court, and the rest of the *Cabal*; fell in with the popular Humour in the City as well as Parliament; decried the present Designs and Conduct, tho with the Loss of his Chancellor's Place, which was given to Sir *Heneage Finch*; and was believ'd to manage a Practice in *Holland*, for some Instructions in *England*. Sir *William Temple* told the Prince what his Majesty suspected of some of his Subjects, without naming any; how much Service it would be to his Majesty to know them more certainly; and how kind it would be in his Highness to discover them. The Prince was stanch, and said: *He was sure the King would not press him upon a thing so much against all Honour, as to betray Men that profess'd to be his Friends.* The *English* Ambassador gave his Majesty an Account of all that pass'd between the Prince and him, which was thought at Court both cold to his Majesty, and stiff as to the Peace. Sir *William* had no Returns or Orders upon this matter: But about the beginning of *December*, the Earl of *Arlington* Lord Chamberlain, and the Lord *Offory*, arriv'd at the *Hague*, tho without any Character or Shew of Business *.

My Lord *Arlington* brought Sir *William Temple* a Letter from the King, acquainting him, that he had sent his Lordship to set some important Points right between his Majesty and the Prince, which ought not to be longer in doubt; and recommending to him all the Assistance he could give his Lordship at

* Sir W. Temple's *Memoirs*, Part II. p. 72. & seq.

the *Hague*. The Mystery of this Journey and Affair (which was in great measure a Secret to the Lord Treasurer himself, but which the Prince of *Orange* discover'd to Sir *William Temple*) was this: The Lord *Arlington*, who had been at the head of those Measures that the King enter'd into during the Ministry of the *Cabal*, and the late War with *Holland*, found his Credit sinking with his Master upon the ill Issue of that Affair. As this Lord's Favour declin'd, so the Earl of *Danby's* increas'd, who succeeded the Lord *Clifford* in the Treasury, which had ever been the Lord *Arlington's* Ambition. This gave the latter an implacable Envy and Hatred against the Lord *Danby*, and which no Offices of Friends could ever allay. He was not well in the Nation, for having had such a share in breaking the *Triple Alliance*, and making that with *France* for the Ruin of *Holland*; and, as 'twas commonly thought, for some Ends more displeasing at Home: yet when the ill Humour of the Parliament had broken the Designs of the *Cabal*, my Lord *Arlington* follow'd so far the Earl of *Shaftsbury's* Example, as to join with the Duke of *Ormond* and Secretary *Coventry*, to persuade the King to remove the Duke of *York* wholly from Court and Business, as a means to appease the Discontents of the Nation, upon a well-grounded Jealousy of *Po-pery*, which the late Conduct of Affairs had rais'd. By this Advice the Lord *Arlington* had very much offended the Duke; and finding himself ill with his Royal Highness, with the Parliament, and every day declining in Favour with the King, he thought there was no way of retrieving his Credit, but by making himself the Instrument of some secret and close Measures between the King and the Prince of *Orange*. He first suggested to his Majesty the Necessity and Advantage of such a Negotiation; then that of his being employ'd in it, from the Interest

his Lady's Friends and Relations had in *Holland*; And tho he profess'd great Friendship to *Sir William Temple*, yet he represented him as unlikely to be trusted with such a Confidence from the Prince, as was requisite in this Affair, for having been so intimate with *Monfieur De Wit* in his former Embassy. He went over with all the Auxiliaries that were like to be of any Succour in this Expedition, carrying not only my Lady *Arlington*, but *Madam Beverwort*, her Sister, whose Conversation was very agreeable to the Prince; *Sir Gabriel Sylvius*, who pretended a great Intimacy with *Monfieur Bentinck*; *Dr. Durel*, a Man fit to practise *Monfieur Des Marets*, a *French* Minister in Credit with the Prince; and the Lord *Offory*, who had a great share in his Highness's Kindness and Esteem, as well from his Marriage into the *Beverwort*'s Family, as from his personal Bravery; a Quality lov'd by the Prince, even in an Enemy. My Lord *Danby* had been made to believe, that a Letter from the Prince to *Monfieur Odyck*, then one of the *Dutch* Ambassadors in *England*, had given Occasion to his Journey, as if the Prince had desir'd some Person at the *Hague* from the King, with whom he might enter into the last Confidence; but his Highness assur'd *Sir William Temple*, that there was no such thing, and that *Monfieur De Ruigny*, the *French* Ambassador at *London*, had more part in this Journey than he, and perhaps any body else; and that all the Endeavours us'd towards a Peace came from that side.

My Lord *Arlington* told *Sir William Temple* at their first Meeting, That he came over to set right some things between the King and the Prince, that he doubted were amiss, and settle a perfect Kindness and Confidence between them; that to do this, he must go to the bottom of the Sore, and rake into things past; which was an unpleasant Work, and which *Sir William* could not do, as having no part in the King's Business during that

that time, wherein the Prince took his Offence at the Counsels of England. That the King had chosen him for this Office, because he could best justify his Majesty's Intentions towards his Highness, in the whole Course of that Affair. That for the Peace, tho his Majesty desir'd it, yet he would not meddle with it, unless the Prince, of himself, made any Overtures about it; but would only endeavour to give the Prince what Lights he could as to the state of things in general, and what he might hope from his Allies, as well as from France. That if the Prince made no Advances to him upon it, he would let it fall, and leave it in Sir William Temple's hands. That he knew very well such a Commission as his might look unkind, if not injurious to another Ambassador; and that he would not have come, if any other had been there: but the King, as well as he, reckon'd so far upon the Friendship between them, that they were both confident of Sir William's being easy in it, and giving him his Assistance. He said besides, That after having fought the King's Battle with the Prince, he must fight another of his own, who did not deserve the Coldness his Highness had of late express'd to him; and when this was done, all his Business was ended. That he desir'd Sir William would, according to the Forms, bring him and my Lord Ossory the first time to the Prince; and after that he would see him no more in Ceremony, nor give his Excellency that Trouble.

Sir William Temple told his Lordship, He was very glad to see him, let his Business be what it would: That he should be gladder yet that the King's Business should be done, let it be by whom it would; but much more that it might be by him. That for settling matters right between the King and the Prince, he thought it the best Office that could be done them both. That for the way he mention'd, of raking into the Sore, and fighting of Battels, in Defence or Justification of what was past, he knew not what to say to it; but would

would leave it to his own Prudence : but for what he knew in particular of the Prince's Humour and Thoughts, whatever he did of that sort, he believ'd should be very gentle, and not go too deep ; being of Opinion, that Expostulations were very apt to end well between Lovers, but ill between Friends. That he would introduce him and the Lord Ossory to the Prince ; and desir'd no other part in his Affair, than what his Lordship thought necessary to give him.

Sir William Temple was not the worse entertain'd during the Course of this Adventure ; for my Lord Arlington told him every day what he thought fit of all that pass'd between them ; and his Highness told him not only the Thing, but the Manner of it, which was more important than the Matter itself : For this had no effect, but the other a great deal, and that lasted long. His Lordship told him much of his Expostulations, and with what good Turns of Wit he had justify'd both the King's part in the late War, and his own ; but upon all, he found the Prince dry, sullen, and uneasy. That as to the State of Christendom, and what related to the War he was engag'd in, he made him no Overtures at all, nor enter'd further than that the King might bring him out of it with Honour, if he pleas'd, and with Safety to Europe ; if not, it must go on, till the Fortunes of the Parties changing, made way for other Thoughts.

The Prince, on the other side, acquainted Sir William Temple with what Arrogance and Insolence the Lord Arlington had entred upon all his Expostulations with him ; shewing not only in his Discourse, as if he pretended to deal with a Child, and could by his Wit make him believe what he pleas'd ; but in the manner of it, as if he had taken himself for the Prince of Orange, and him for my Lord Arlington. That all he said was so Artificial, and giving such false Colours to things every body knew, that he that was a plain Man could

not hear it, and was never so weary of any Conversation in his Life. In a word, by all the Prince told Sir William Temple upon it, his Highness look'd spighted at my Lord Arlington, and not very much pleas'd with the King's Intentions upon this Errand; tho he said, *He was sure his Majesty never intended he should treat it in the manner he had, if he remembred that he was his Nephew, tho nothing else.*

The Pensionary and Count Waldeck thought, that the Bent of my Lord Arlington was, *First*, to draw the Prince into such measures of a Peace as France then so much desir'd. *Secondly*, Into a Discovery of those Persons who had made Advances to the Prince or the States, of raising Commotions in England. *Thirdly*, Into secret Measures with the King, of assisting him against any Rebels at Home, as well as Enemies Abroad. And, *Fourthly*, Into the Hopes or Designs of a Match with the Duke of York's eldest Daughter. Tho, they said, he found the Prince would not enter at all into the First; was obstinate against the Second; treated the Third as a Disrespect to the King, to think he could be so ill belov'd, or so imprudent to need it: and upon mention made of the last by the Lord Ossory, he took no further hold of it, than saying, *His Fortunes were not in a Condition for him to think of a Wife.*

After the first Conversations, the Lord Arlington staid near six Weeks in Holland, (either upon contrary Winds to return his Dispatches, or to carry him away) equally disappointed and discontented with the Success of his Undertaking. At his return to London, he was but coldly receiv'd by the King, and ill by the Duke of York; the latter being angry that any mention had been made of the Lady Mary, tho it was done by the Earl of Ossory; but whether with an Order from his Majesty or no, was uncertain: So as never any Strain of Court-Skill and Contrivance succeeded so unfortunately

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as this had done, and so contrary to the Ends the Author of it propos'd to himself. Instead of advancing the Peace, he left it desperate; instead of establishing a Confidence between the King and the Prince, he left all colder than he found it; instead of entring into great personal Confidence and Friendship with the Prince, he left an Unkindness that lasted ever after; instead of retrieving his own Credit at Court, he made an end of all he had left with the King: and he found the Lord Treasurer's Credit with his Majesty more advanc'd in six Weeks he had been absent, than it had done in many Months before.

Whatever was the occasion, the *French* shew'd this Winter an extreme Desire of a Peace. A Talk of a Marriage between *Monsieur's* eldest Daughter and the King of *Spain* was set on foot; a Suspension of Arms was propos'd at *Vienna*; Practices were us'd to disjoint the Princes of *Brandenburgh* and *Lunenburgh* from the Confederacy; and great Instances made for a Separate Peace between *France* and *Holland*, towards which they offer'd all the Advantages that could be to the States, in point of Commerce, and all the Personal ones that could be desir'd by the Prince of *Orange*: But his Highness was unmovable in not leaving his Allies, who likewise rejected the Overtures of Peace; tho he began to foresee he was like to play a hard Game with them next Summer in the Field; and perhaps harder with the People, who grew impatient of Taxes, and not only felt the present Decay of Trade, but had also an Apprehension, that if the War lasted, it would soon run into a new Channel by *England*, so as never to be retriev'd. Upon these Considerations, his Highness resolv'd to make one Effort towards a Peace with Honour: his Scheme was, *That a Match should be made between the King of Spain and the Duke of Orleans's eldest*
 † *Daughter;*

Daughter. That France should give her in Dowry the late conquer'd Places in Flanders. That the King of England should make this Match, and upon these Terms, that he should have 200000 Pounds for his good Offices in it : by which means a Peace would be made with Safety to Spain and Holland ; by securing again the Frontiers of Flanders with Honour to France, who parted with the conquer'd Towns only as a Dowry to a Daughter of France, without any Blemish to the Prince's Honour, and Faith to his Alliances ; and with Honour and Profit to his Britannick Majesty. This the Prince and Pensionary having communicated to the English Ambassador, they desir'd him to propose it to the King his Master, as the only way of making the Peace he so earnestly desir'd. Sir William Temple having writ two Letters to the King upon it, had no hopes given him that it would be effected. Whether France took the Desires of the Prince for an Argument of his being weary of the War, or that he found the People were so ; or whether they would not end the War without breaking the Force and Confidence of the present Alliance ; or (as the Prince thought) without leaving Flanders open for another Invasion, when some better Conjunction should make way for it ; or whether the Revolt of Messina had given them hopes of disabling Spain, by drawing their Forces on that side, and disposing them to a Peace by this Wound in a part so tender, and that might spread so far into Italy ; or whether they had now absolutely engag'd the Crown of Sweden to enter into the War, which might so alarm the Empire on the side of Pomerania, as to break or weaken any Conjunction of their Forces on the Rhine : However it was, this Attempt of the Prince fail'd ; and all further Thoughts of a present Peace being at an end, Sir William Temple contented himself to pursue the cold Scent of the Mediation in the common Forms, while Prepara-

tions were made on all sides, for a vigorous Prosecution of the War.

The Prince in *February* 1675. N. S. went into *Gelderland* to establish the new Magistracy there, according to his Office of Stadtholder. At his Highness's return to the *Hague* (in *March*) Sir *William Temple* receiv'd a Letter from the King, telling him of some Advices given him, that the Prince intended to come over into *England* against the approaching Session of Parliament, and commanding his Excellency to prevent it. Sir *William*, before he saw the Prince, adventur'd to assure his Majesty there could be nothing in it; but when he spoke with his Highness, he pretended not to have had it from the King, but that he heard such a thing had been whisper'd to his Majesty. The Prince said, *That Report might come from my Lord Arlington, who had sometime talk'd of that Journey after the Peace should be made: That however it came, he was sorry the King should believe it; That he was his Majesty's Servant, and if he could do him no Service, he would, at least, do him no Harm: but if the King would be otherwise possess'd, he could not help it; yet desir'd Sir William to assure him, there had never been any ground for such a Report.* In the Afternoon, * the Prince came to the *English* Ambassador, and told him in great Heat, 'He had, since he saw 'him, receiv'd the most impertinent Letter from 'the Lord *Arlington*, that ever was upon that Subject, treating it as a Resolution certain, and intended 'for raising HEATS in the PARLIAMENT, and 'COMMOTIONS in the Kingdom; adding, 'Twas 'like to prove but an ill Friendship between the King 'and him, if it was to be made à Coups de Bâtons ' (that is, with Blows :) and putting him in mind,

* March 24. N. S. ubi supra. *Letters*, Vol. III. p. 102. *Memoirs*, Vol. II. p. 94.

‘ *Qu’il y a des Playes chez vous qui saigneront encore, si l’on y met la main, (that is, That there are some Wounds among you that will bleed still, if they be meddled with:)* And that he knew well enough what my Lord *Arlington* meant by that Expression; for he had told Monsieur *Reed* in *England*, when he went over upon the first Motions of the last Peace, That THE KING COULD MAKE THE PRINCE BE SERV’D AS De Wit was, if he would set himself about it.’ Upon this, the Prince fell into the greatest Rage against the Lord *Arlington*, calling this Proceeding malicious and insolent; saying, *He would write to him what he deserv’d, but never have any thing more to do with him beyond common Forms: That since he knew not how to trust the King’s Ministers, he would write to the King himself: And desir’d Sir William to convey his Letters so, as they might come to no other hand. Sir William gave a faithful Account of all this to the King; adding, That what he thought of so great Concernment to his Majesty, would ever make him lose all other Regards: And that he told his Majesty at his coming away, he would depend upon none but his Majesty: when that fail’d, he knew the way to his GARDEN again.*

The truth is, the Partisans of *France* were at this time very busy at the Court of *England*; suggesting suspicions, as if the Prince of *Orange* had intentions of forming a Faction in the ensuing Parliament. To be charg’d openly with this, could not but touch the Prince very near; but he was yet more particularly piqu’d at the Lord *Arlington*’s Letter, ‘ In that his Highness (as he protested to Sir William Temple) was perfectly innocent of any such Design; and that he was sure, by the Earl’s writing, he believ’d all he said of that matter, or, at least, made the King believe he did so. The first his Highness thought a part very un-

‘ lucky to himself; the last very unfriendly from
 ‘ *Arlington*; who, he said, knowing better, ought
 ‘ to have answer’d further for him than any other
 ‘ Man at Court.’ One Circumstance more nettled
 the Prince at that time, which was, That Monsieur
Wickfort, a Person with whom Sir *William* had * for-
 merly a great Intimacy, having now been seiz’d in
Holland; was, amongst other Crimes, accus’d of
 having Intelligence both in *France* and *England*,
 during the War; and at that very Juncture with
France, as well as *Sweden*; and of forming a Party
 in the State against the Prince and establish’d Go-
 vernment. Upon the examining his Papers, there
 were a great many Letters among them from
 Sir ———, wherein, as both the Prince and Pen-
 sionary told the *English* Ambassador, they found
 Sir ——— endeavour’d to stir up a Faction in
Holland against his Highness; who thought that
 what the Lord *Arlington* writ might be of the same
 piece, or upon design of settling an Occasion to
 do it: However, both the Prince and Pensionary
 assur’d Sir *William Temple*, they would never take
 notice to any body, either in *England* or *Holland*,
 of what they had discover’d of that kind in *Wick-*
fort’s Papers.

Soon after, Count *Waldeck* was sent to *Vienna*, to
 concert the Operations of the approaching Cam-
 paign. In *March* the Elector of *Brandenburgh* came
 on the same account to *Cleve*, where he was met
 by the Prince of *Orange* and the Marquis *De Grana*,
 the Emperor’s Envoy: And an Ambassador from
Denmark arriv’d at the *Hague*, to try what Ad-
 vantages his Master could make of this present Con-
 juncture, by threatening to enter into an Alliance
 with *Sweden*, who began to throw off the Mask,
 and had declar’d in favour of *France*. All things

* Sir William Temple’s *Letters*, Vol. II. p. 313.

being thus in the highest Fermentation, a sudden Damp fell upon the whole Mass of these great Affairs, by the Sickness of the Prince of *Orange*; which shew'd him to be the *Master-Spring* that set all the other Wheels a going: for while his Illness continu'd, all was in suspense, and none of the Parties engag'd seem'd to have any other Motions or Sentiments, than what were rais'd by the Hopes or Fears of so *important a Life*. After some Days Fever, the Small-Pox appear'd, which had been very fatal to that Family in the Person of his Father and Mother, and gave the greater Apprehensions to his Friends, his Country, and his Allies. But by the Care and Prudence of an able Physician, the Assistance of some Remedies which the Elector of *Brandenburgh* sent him, and the great Evenness of his Temper, and Constancy of Mind, which gave way to no Impressions or Imaginations that use to be of so ill Consequence in that Disease, it pass'd without any bad Accidents; and within twenty Days his Highness went abroad, and fell into the present Business of State. His Highness receiv'd the Compliments of all the foreign Ministers, (not excepting those of *France*) upon his Recovery: And as soon as his Illness was known in *England*, Mr. *Skelton* and Mr. *Ashton* were sent to the *Hague* by the King and Duke of *York*.

In the mean time, how useless soever for the present, yet the Form of his *Britannick* Majesty's Mediation went on. After it had been accepted, the first Point that came to be consider'd on, was the Place of Treaty, which occasion'd no small Dispute; the several Parties reciprocally proposing or rejecting several Places: but at last, Sir *William Temple* having nam'd *Cleve* and *Nimeguen*, the latter was agreed on first by *France*, and afterwards by the Allies.



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As soon as the Prince was perfectly recover'd, his Highness repair'd to the general Rendezvous at *Rosendael*: But, by this time, the *French* had open'd the Campaign by the Siege of *Limburgh*, with one part of their Forces under the Command of the Marquis *de Rochefort*; while the King, the Duke of *Orleans*, and the Prince of *Condé*, with the rest of the Army, cover'd the Siege in such a manner, that it was impossible for the Prince of *Orange* to relieve the Place. After the reduction of *Limburgh*, the King of *France* encamp'd near *Tillemont*, ravaging all the Country round about *Louvain*, *Brussels*, and *Malines*. He seem'd to have form'd a Design of making himself Master of *Louvain*; but the Prince of *Orange* and the Duke de *Villa Hermosa* observ'd him so narrowly, that he durst not put it in execution. Nor did either the Confederate or *French* Army seem very earnest to come to a Battle, upon the loss of which so great Consequences depended: so that about the end of *July*, the *French* Monarch weary of a dull contemplative Campaign, left the Army to the Prince of *Condé*, and, with his Court, return'd to *Versailles*. The same Month, the King of *England* seeing the Negotiations of the Peace laid at present asleep, sent for Sir *William Temple* to make a short Turn into *England*, and give him an Account of all the Observations he had made Abroad, on the present Conjunctions and Dispositions; as well as receive his Majesty's Instructions, for the future Progress of the King's Mediation.

The Parliament in *England* (the Majority of which were *uncorrupted*) tho much pleas'd with the last Peace with *Holland* *, yet were not so with his Majesty's Desires of a *General One*. They thought the Power of *France* too great since their last Con-

* *Sir W. Temple's Memoirs*, Vol II. p. 107. & seq.

quests in *Flanders*, and their Ambition too declar'd, of making themselves Masters of the rest, by one means, and at one time or other: They were suspicious of the COURT'S FAVOURING too much the FRENCH DESIGNS, by PURSUING A PEACE THAT WOULD BREAK SO MIGHTY A CONFEDERACY, as was now united against *France*: They were *jealous of the COUNSELS* that had made the LATE ALLIANCE and KINDNESS between *England* and *France*, in the time of the late *Cabal*: And besides these solid Considerations, and the ancient popular Notions of Ballancing the Powers of Christendom, *the ambitious Designs of private, but unquiet and aspiring Men, fell in to blow up the general ill Humours upon the more publick Accounts.* The Lord *Shaftsbury*, impatient at his Fall from so great a share of the Ministry, and hoping to retrieve a Game he was forc'd to give over, had run desperately into the popular Humour, both in Parliament and City, of censuring the Court, exclaiming against our PARTIALITY to *France*; but most of all, against the Conduct of the PRESENT MINISTRY. On the other hand, the Lord *Arlington* was so enrag'd at the Growth of the Lord TREASURER'S Credit, upon the Fall of his own, that he struck in with the common Humour of the Parliament; and in fomenting those Jealousies and Practices in the House of Commons, which center'd in a Resolution among the leading Members, *not to consent to give the King any Mony, whilst the present Lord Treasurer continu'd.* Upon these Dispositions, they grew very warm in pursuing the Lord *Lauderdale*, the only Remainder of the *Cabal* that had now any Credit at Court; and they press'd the King very hard to recal all the *English* Troops in the *French* Service: But they fell into so great Dissensions between the two Houses, rais'd upon punctilious Disputes, and Deductions

Deductions of their several Privileges, in opposition to one another, that the King was glad of an Occasion that made it necessary for him to prorogue them; which he did on the 9th of June.

Upon Sir William Temple's Arrival soon after, the King telling him the several Reasons that had mov'd him to it, said, *That he doubted much while the War lasted abroad, it would give Occasion or Pretence for those Heats that had of late appear'd in the Parliament, and made him very uneasy in his Revenue, which so much needed their Assistance. That some of the warm Leaders in both Houses, had a mind to engage him in a War with France, which they should not do for many Reasons; and, among the rest, because he was sure if they did, they would leave him in it, and make use of it to ruin his Ministers, and make him depend upon them more than he intended, or any King would desire. But besides all this, he doubted an impertinent Quarrel between my Lord TREASURER and Lord CHAMBERLAIN, did him more disservice in the Parliament than could be imagin'd; for the last did not care what Harm he did his (the King's) Business there, so he could hope to ruin my Lord TREASURER; and had persuaded a great many in the House of Commons, that this would certainly be compass'd, if they were stanch, in giving no Money during his Ministry. That he knew they were both Sir William's Friends, and therefore desired he would try to reconcile them while he staid in England. Sir William Temple endeavour'd it, but fail'd: The Earl of Danby (late Duke of Leeds) was, indeed, very inclinable, being so posted as to desire only to continue where he was; and that the King's Business might go well in his hands: But my Lord Arlington was so uneasy in the Posture he stood, which he attributed chiefly to my Lord TREASURER's Greatness, that he was untractable upon this Subject. When Sir William Temple found the Wound was too much rankled*

to be cur'd, he gave it over; telling each of them, That *since he could not make them Friends, he would, at least, live with them both, as if they were so; and desir'd them not to expect he should sacrifice one Friend to another.* My Lord TREASURER was content with this Frankness, but the Earl of Arlington could not bear this neither; grew dry from that time, and stiff, in all that pass'd between him and Sir William; still mingling little Reproaches of his Greatness with the Lord Danby; and was so weary of the Scene at Court, where he found himself left out, that he went into the Country for the rest of the Summer. Thus the Seeds of Discontent, that had been sown in the Parliament under the Counsels of the CABAL, began to spring fast, and root deep, after their Power and Influence was wholly at an end; and these Heats were, under other Covers, fomented by TWO OF THE CHIEF that compos'd that MINISTRY, and with help of Time and Accidents, grew to such Flames as afterwards appear'd. But whatever began or increas'd them, 'tis certain these Agitations in England had great effect on those of the War and Peace abroad: For the Confederates were confident, that the Humour of the Parliament and People would, at last, engage the King in their Quarrel, which they knew would force France to such a Peace as they desir'd. Spain, among the rest, was so presuming, that England would not suffer the loss of Flanders, that they grew careless of its Defence; trusting, for the present, to the Dutch to preserve it, and to the King hereafter, whenever he should find it more in danger. And these Considerations made the Allies less inclinable to a Peace, which they might have had cheaper the following Winter, than ever it fell afterwards to their Share, by Revolutions that were not foreseen; but yet such as were suspected at this time, by those that knew the Weakness of the Spaniards, the Divisions

of the Imperial Court, and the POPISH and FRENCH INTEREST that prevail'd in *England*.

While Sir *William Temple* stay'd in *London*, which was about six Weeks, the News came of a great Insurrection in *Britany*, which, with the Numbers and Rage it began, might have prov'd of ill Consequence to the *French* Affairs, if it had met with a Head answerable to the Body; but being compos'd of the Scum of the mean People, that hated and spoil'd the Nobles of the Province, it was by fair means partly, and by foul, in a little time appeas'd. The Blow which was much more considerable to *France*, than the loss of one Province would have been, was the Death of the Marechal *de Turenne*, the News whereof came to Court about the same time. The Astonishment was unspeakable in the *French* Camp, upon the loss of such a General; and the Presumption as great in that of the Imperialists, who reckon'd upon themselves as Masters of the whole *French* Army, that was straitned between them and the *Rhine*, in want, diseas'd, and, above all, discourag'd by the Fall of their Captain. All others had the same expectation upon this News, but all were disappointed: And the Marechal *de Lorge* taking the Command of the Army, had the Honour of making a Retreat that was worth a Victory; and by the force of Order and Conduct, with the Bravery of the *English* Troops, (among whom Captain CHURCHIL * distinguish'd himself) he pass'd the *Rhine* in sight of the Imperialists, and preserv'd the *French* Army, till the Prince of *Condé* was sent in haste out of *Flanders* with a great Reinforcement, to oppose the Progress of the *Germans* in *Alsace*.

In the mean time, the Elector of *Brandenburgh* drawing his Forces together, with some Imperia-

* His Grace the Duke of Marlborough.

lists out of *Silesia*, fell on the *Swedes* in *Pomerania* with that Bravery and Success, that he soon beat them out of his part of the Country, and pursu'd them into their own. He had an Interview with the King of *Denmark*, who being now enter'd into the Interests of the Confederates, resolv'd to declare War against *Sweden*; and to that end took his Measures with the Duke of *Brandenburgh* *. When the Prince of *Condé* left *Flanders* to succeed Monsieur *Turenne* in *Alsace*, the Duke of *Luxemburgh* commanded the Army in *Flanders*, but with Orders not to hazard a Battle, but only to observe the Prince of *Orange's* Motions; which he perform'd so well, that no further Action pass'd this Summer, besides the Prince's taking and razing of *Binch*. But to make amends for the Unactiveness of the Campaign in *Flanders*, the Allies, by general concert, fell upon an Enterprize of great *Eclat*, and greater Consequence, which was the Siege of *Triers*; where *Mareschal de Crequi*, who attempted to relieve the Place, having sustain'd a total Defeat, and being got into the Town with Four or Five only in Company, was, at last, by the mutiny'd Garrison deliver'd up Prisoner to the *Germans*. The loss of Men was very great on the *French* side, both in the Fight and the Siege; which, added to Monsieur *Turenne's* Death, and the Impression expected upon it on that side by Count *Montecuculi*, with the loss of the *Swedes*, made so great a Change in the face of Affairs, that the King, in a Letter to Sir William Temple in September, after his return to his Post at the *Hague*, bid him use it as an Argument to induce the Prince of *Orange*, to be easy in the Business of a PEACE; That it was now time for him to begin to apprehend again the Greatness of the House of *Austria*, instead of that of *France*. Which

* The present King of Prussia's Grandfather.

Argument, the Event shew'd to be one of the usual Artifices of the *French* Court, to break the *Grand Alliance*. About this time died the old Duke of *Lorrain*, leaving Prince *Charles* his Nephew the Succession to that Dutchy: and the old Princess Dowager of *Orange*, a Lady of extraordinary Wit, good Sense, and admirable Oeconomy, who had taken great Care of the young Prince's Education, died also about this time at the *Hague*.

After his Highness's return thither from the Campaign in *October*, Sir *William Temple* had several Conferences with him, upon the Subject of the Peace; and the Terms that both his Majesty and the *States* might think *reasonable*, between *France* and *Spain*. That which *France* pretended, was the Terms of the Peace of *Aix*, and retaining the County of *Burgundy*, which had been since conquer'd; or if either this Province, or some of the most important frontier Towns of *Flanders* should be restor'd, then an *Equivalent* to be given to *France*. The *Spaniards* talk'd of nothing less than the Peace of the *Pyrenees*; and that they would rather lose the rest of *Flanders* by the War, than part with *Burgundy* by the Peace; urging, with reason, That both the King of *England* and the *States* were as much concern'd in the Preservation of *Flanders* as the Crown of *Spain*, and had the same Interest to see it safe by a War, as a Peace; which could not be by such a *Barrier* as was left by the Peace of *Aix*. That which the Earl of *Arlington* had propos'd to the Prince and Pensionary, and which pass'd for his Majesty's Sentiments, was the Terms of *Aix-la-Chapelle*; but in regard of the Necessity for the *Spaniards* to have a better *Barrier*, that the *French* should give up *Aeth*, *Charleroy*, and *Oudenard*, for *Aire* and *St. Omer*; and if they parted with *Burgundy*, it should be for something in Exchange. Sir *William Temple*, by the King's Command, assur'd the Prince, that if a
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Peace could be made upon these Terms, or any so near them, that he might hope to obtain the Consent of *France*; his Majesty, for the Security of *Flanders*, would give his own Guaranty to the Peace, and enter into the strictest Alliance with *Holland* for that purpose: And as for his Highness's Patrimonial Lands, and Lordships in *Burgundy*, his Majesty would undertake for his secure possessing them, tho that County should remain in the *French* hands, or for selling them to that King, at his Highness's own Price. But the Prince's Answer was the same as formerly, *viz.* That for his own part, he would be very well content to leave the Terms of a Peace to his Majesty himself, and believ'd the States could do so too: But they were both engag'd by *Treaty* and *Honour* to their Allies, and there was no thought of making Peace without them. That for *France* retaining the County of *Burgundy*, he was sure neither *Spain* nor the Emperor would ever consent to it, unless they were beaten into it; tho for his own part he should be content with it, provided the *French* would restore *Tournay*, *Courtray*, *Lisle*, and *Douay* to the *Spaniards* in lieu of it; because by that means *Flanders* would have a secure *Barrier* on that side, and a reasonable good one by *Aeth* and *Charleroy* on the other: The Security of *Flanders* being the chief Concern of the *Dutch* upon the Peace. And as for himself, he thank'd his Majesty for his Offer, but that his Lands in *Burgundy* never came into his Thoughts upon the Terms of a Peace. When Sir William put the Prince in mind, of the Apprehensions he and the States might have of the *Greatness* of the *House* of *Austria*, if their *Successes* continu'd; his Highness said, *There was no fear of that, till they should go beyond the Peace of the Pyrenees; whenever that should happen, he should be as much a Frenchman as he was now a Spaniard, but not before.* That for his part, he could never con-

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sent to any TREATY SEPARATE from his Allies. That he believ'd they would be reasonable; and if France would be so too, the Peace might be made; if not, perhaps another Campaign might bring them to Reason. After this Conference, and no return from the King to the Account Sir William gave his Majesty, the Discourse ended, of private Measures to be agreed to between his Majesty, and the Prince and States, for promoting a Peace; and all Thoughts began now to turn upon forming the Congress at *Nimeguen*. Some * of the Allies would have been glad enough, that the King of *Great Britain*, as Mediator, would have drawn the first Scheme, according to what he esteem'd most just and agreeable to the common Interests of *Christendom*: And they doubted not, but whatever Peace his Majesty should propose, he might do it in such a manner, as to make it easily accepted by all Parties; and so take upon him to be the ARBITER, as well as MEDIATOR, in this great Affair. But, out of Partiality to *France*, his Majesty's Counsels were fix'd to act no such part: so as Sir William Temple rightly foresaw, that the Mediation would not at all lead, but follow the Dispositions of the Parties, as these would the Events of the War, since no Suspension of Arms was like to be agreed on during the Treaty.

Notwithstanding all that Sir William Temple had writ from the Prince of *Orange* to the King, upon the Subject of the Peace; the Lord *Arlington*, upon pretended Intelligence from his Relations in *Holland*, endeavour'd to persuade his Majesty, he did not know the Prince's Mind, for want of some body that had more Credit with his Highness, than Sir William; and at the same time he press'd the Prince by Letters, to desire his Majesty to send

* Sir W. Temple's Letters, Vol. III. p. 145.

over some such Person as he might treat with in the last Confidence. The Prince was so frank as to shew Sir William the Earl's Letters; and bid him assure the King and the Lord Treasurer, *That he could say no more than he had done to his Excellency, and would not say so much to any other.* However, my Lord *Arlington* pursu'd his Point, and upon the former Suggestions, prevail'd with the King to send over Sir *Gabriel Sylvius*, to know the bottom of the Prince's Mind before the Campaign began. Both he and the Lord Treasurer acquainted the Prince with this Resolution, and that *he was a Person they knew his Highness would trust* *. But the Prince shew'd Sir William these Letters too, and said, *He knew not what Lord Arlington meant; and that he never said any thing to Sylvius, that he was not content his Coachman should know.* Sir William laugh'd, and ask'd his Highness; *And would you have me tell my Lord Treasurer so too?* Upon which the Prince turn'd about, and said resolutely, *Yes, do.* This ended all Correspondence between the Earl of *Arlington* and Sir William Temple, which had continu'd, by Letters, to this time; tho coldly, since Sir William was last in *England*: the latter not having learnt enough, either of the Age, or the Court he liv'd in, to act an unsincere Part, either in Friendship, or in Love.

When Sir *Gabriel Sylvius* came to the *Hague*, which was in *January* 1676. N. S. he past for a Man of great Intrigue, was perpetually at the Prince's Court, or in Conversation and Visits with the Persons near his Highness, or most employ'd in the State. But he and my Lord *Arlington* were soon satisfy'd, to how little purpose he came over; for the Prince, who was the sincerest Man in the World,

* Sir William Temple's *Memoirs*, Part II. p. 131. and his Letters, Vol. III. p. 149.

hating all TRICKS, and those that us'd them, gave him no Mark of the least Confidence while he staid, and sent him away with a very plain one of the contrary, by entrusting another Hand with all he writ of Consequence into *England*, before he went into the Field. His Highness's Opinion of *Sylvius's* Journey was, That Lord *Arlington* had design'd it out of spite to Sir *William Temple*, and to give Jealousy to the Confederates, as suspecting something in agitation between the King and the Prince, that Sir *William* was not thought fit to be trusted with: And indeed several of the Ministers at the *Hague* were apt to fall into such Surmises; but *De Lyra*, a *Spanish* Minister, a Person much in Credit in his own Court, and much in the Prince's Confidence, was ever firm in the belief of his Highness's Honour and Constancy, (which he us'd to say, his Master trusted to more than to any Treaties) and so help'd to prevent those dangerous Impressions.

The Prince being ready to take the Field, told Sir *William Temple*, that before he went, he must have some talk with him in private, and at leisure; and for that purpose desir'd it might be in the Garden of *Honflardyke*. Being met at the Time and Place appointed, his Highness told the *English* Ambassador, That being the only Son that was left of his Family, he was often press'd by his Friends to think of marrying, and had many Persons propos'd to him, as their several Humours led them. That for his own part, he knew that was a thing to be done at one time or other; but that he had hitherto excus'd the Thoughts of it, otherwise than in general, till the War was ended. That, besides his own Friends, the Deputies of the States began to press him more earnestly every day; and the more, in that they saw the War like to continue; and perhaps they had more reason to do it than any others. That he had, at last, promis'd them he would think of it
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more seriously, and particularly, and so he had resolv'd he would marry; but the choice of a Person he thought more difficult. That he found himself inclin'd to no Proposals made him out of France or Germany, nor indeed to any that had been mention'd upon this Occasion by any of his Friends, but that of England. That before he concluded to make any Advances that way, he was resolv'd to have Sir William's Opinion upon two Points; but yet would not ask it, unless he promised to answer him as a Friend, or, at least, an indifferent Person. Sir William telling him he should be obey'd; his Highness went on, and said, That he would confess to him, that during the late War, neither the States, nor he in particular, were without Applications made them from several Persons, and considerable, in England, who would fain have engag'd them to head the Discontents that were rais'd by the Conduct of the Court in that whole War, which he knew was begun and carry'd on quite contrary to the Humour of the Nation; and might, perhaps, have prov'd very dangerous to the Crown, if it had not ended as it did. That all those Persons, who pretended to be very much his Friends, were extremely against any Thoughts of his marrying in England. Their Reasons were, that he would by it lose all the Esteem and Interest he had there, and be believ'd to have run wholly into the Dispositions and Designs of the Court, which were generally thought so different from those of the Nation, especially upon the Point of Religion. That his Friends there did not believe the Government could be long without some great Disturbance, unless they chang'd their Measures, which was not esteem'd very likely to be done: and upon this he desir'd the Ambassador's Thoughts as a Friend. The next was upon the Person and Dispositions of the young Lady; for tho it would not pass in the World for a Prince to seem concern'd in those Particulars, yet for himself he would tell him, without any sort of Affectation, that he was so, and in such a Degree, that no

Circumstances of Fortune or Interest would engage him, without those of the Person; especially those of Humour and Dispositions. That he might, perhaps, be not very easy for a Wife to live with; he was sure he should not to such Wives as were generally in the Courts of this Age. That if he should meet with one to give him Trouble at home, 'twas what he should not be able to bear, who was like to have enough Abroad in the Course of his Life: And that after the manner he was resolv'd to live with a Wife, which should be the best he could, he would have one that he thought likely to live well with him, which he thought chiefly depended upon her Disposition and Education; and if Sir William knew any thing particular of the Lady Mary, in these Points, he desir'd him to tell him freely.

Sir William Temple answer'd his Highness, That he was very glad to find, he was resolv'd to marry, being what he ow'd his Family and his Friends. That he was much pleas'd his Inclinations led him to endeavour it in England. That he thought it as much for his Highness's Interest, as others of his English Friends thought it was against it. That the King and his Highness were able to do one another more Good or more Harm, than any other Princes could do either of them, by being Friends or Enemies. That it was a great Step to be one Degree nearer the Crown, and in all appearance the NEXT. That for his Friends (as they pretended) in England, they must see much farther than he did, to believe the King in any such Dangers or Difficulties as they imagin'd. That the Crown of England stood upon surer Foundations than ever it had done in former Times, and the more for what had pass'd in the last Reign: And that he believ'd the People would be found better Subjects than perhaps the King himself believ'd them. That it was, however, in his power to be as well with them as he pleas'd, and to make as short Turns to such an end; if not, yet with the help of a little good Husbandry, he might pass his Reign in Peace, tho not perhaps

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perhaps with so much Ease at Home, or Glory Abroad, as if he fell into the Vein of his People. That if the Court were of Sentiments different from those of his Highness, yet his Advisers would make him a greater Compliment, in believing him as likely to reduce the Court to his, as in concluding they would bring him to theirs; and if that should happen, the most seditious Men in England would be hard put to it to find an ill side in such a Match. That for the other Point, he could say nothing to it, but that he had always heard his Wife and his Sister speak with all the Advantage that could be, of what they could discern in a Princess so young; and more from what they had been told by the Governess, with whom they had a particular Friendship; and who, they were sure, took all the Care that could be in so much of the Princess's Education as fell to her share.

After two Hours Discourse upon this matter, the Prince concluded to enter upon his Pursuit, and in order to it, would write both to the King and the Duke to beg their Favour to him in it, and their Leave, that he might go over into *England* at the end of the Campaign. That Sir William Temple's Lady, a Person of admirable Sense and Address, who was then going over upon private Affairs, should carry and deliver both his Letters; and during her stay, should endeavour to inform her self the most particularly she could, of all that concern'd the Person, Humour, and Disposition of the young Princess, in which he seem'd so much concern'd. Within two or three Days, his Highness brought his Letters to Sir William's Lady; went immediately to the Army, and she suddenly after into *England* with those important Dispatches.

The Measures that were taken towards a Peace, made the contending Parties the more diligent in their Preparations for War. The *French* were upon their March into *Flanders*, and that King at the

head of a numerous and brave Army, threatening great Enterprizes. The Prince of *Orange* went also into the Field, with Resolution and Hopes of having the Honour of a Battel at the opening of the Campaign; so that all thoughts of the Congress meeting before the end of it, were laid aside: when about the middle of *May*, Sir *William Temple* receiv'd the *French* Passports for the Duke of *Lorraine's* Ministers, in the Form insisted on by the Allies: And hereupon all Difficulties being remov'd, the Passports were exchang'd by the end of *May*.

About the beginning of *July*, that Minister went to the Congress at *Nimeguen*, where the *French* and *Dutch* Ambassadors being already arriv'd, press'd very much for his coming, in regard Sir *Lionel Jenkins*, the other *English* Mediator, excus'd himself from entring upon any Business, till Sir *William Temple's* Arrival.

Before Sir *William* left the *Hague*, Monsieur *Du Moulin* met his Chaplain in the *Forhout*, and told him, 'He was so ill that he knew he had not long to live, and that he could not die in quiet, without asking Sir *William's* Pardon for so many false and injurious things as he confess'd to have said of him since his last Embassy there, tho he had before had all the Esteem that could be for his Excellency. And desir'd the Chaplain, since Sir *William* had always refus'd to see him, that he would do this Office for him, and ask his Excellency's Pardon, as from a dying Man.' This *Du Moulin*, after having been much employ'd and favour'd by the Lord *Arlington*, during the Counsels and Vogue of the *Triple Alliance*, and disgrac'd by him after the Change of those Measures in *England*, went over into *Holland*; was entertain'd by the Prince as one of his Secretaries; grew into great Favour and Confidence during the War; was made use of by the

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the Discontented in *England* in their Applications at the *Hague*; and was thought worth all my Lord *Arlington's* Instances and Endeavours at the *Hague*, to remove him from the Prince's Service. Sir *William Temple* receiv'd afterwards Commands to the same purpose; and compass'd it, tho not without Time and Difficulty. *Du Moulin* had not been long laid aside, when this happen'd; and whether that, or the knowledg of the Prince's late Resolution to pursue the Match in *England*, help'd to break his Heart, or whether it were a Consumption, as his Friends gave out, he died soon after; and with him the Intrigues of that Party in *England*, that had for some time employ'd him, and busy'd his Friends in *Holland*.

Sir *William Temple* * excus'd himself from letting the Magistrates of *Nimeguen* know what time he design'd his Arrival there, tho they had sent to inform themselves while he was upon the way: and he refus'd any Ceremonies at his Entry, to prevent that Pretence in other Ambassadors, and the Troubles and Disturbances such publick Receptions might occasion. However, he could not escape some part of it, viz. the firing of the Cannon of the Town, when he was going over a Bridg made of loose Planks, to go into a Boat, in order to cross part of the River; for which Civility he had like to have paid a great deal more than 'twas worth, his Excellencies Horses being so unruly with that Noise, and the clutter of the Planks, that they were much likelier to have carry'd him into the River than the Boat. But with the help of his Servants on Foot, he got safe into the Boat, and so † to the Town, where he landed in Sir *Lionel Jenkins's* House, and staid there till late in the Evening, to avoid any Visits or Ceremonies that Night.

* See his *Memoirs*, Part II. p. 164.

† July 12. N.S.
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The next Day Sir William was visited by the three French Ambassadors, viz. the Marechal D'Estrades Governor of *Maestricht*, Monsieur Colbert, and Count D'Avaux: in which Visit little pass'd, but what is common upon such occasions: But the two first being of Sir William's particular Acquaintance in his former Embassies at the *Hague* and *Aix-la-Chapelle*, they pretended in their separate Visits, to enter with him upon Points and Terms of great Confidence, and upon matters that gave him Light into the whole Design of *France*, intended by the steps of this Treaty, to which they had of late shew'd so great FORWARDNESS *, at least in the forming of this CONGRESS and Dispatch of their Ambassadors, before those of the Allies were in any Motions, or perhaps Disposition towards it. They both told him, ' That they had express and ' private Orders from the King their Master, to ' make him particular Compliments upon the Esteem his most Christian Majesty had for his Excellency's Person; and to make their Applications wholly to him in the Course of this Negotiation, tho one of the Mediators came from residing in their own Court: But they knew very well Sir William had the King his Master's Confidence, as well as that of his Ministers: And that having had the framing of this Congress from the first Overtures, and through all the Preliminaries, there was no other hand but his capable of finishing it; and therefore they presag'd him all the Glory of it. That he might reckon upon all the Facility their Master could give towards it; but after such great Successes in the War, and at the head of so great Forces, both at Land and Sea, it

† This is the Method France has ever pursu'd, in order to divide the Allies; among whom, there never fail'd to be some or other, who were eager to conclude a Peace.

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could not be expected he should yield to restore what his Arms had conquer'd. On t'other side, they knew very well, tho the States were bent upon the Peace, yet the Frowardness, or extravagant Demands of their Allies, would engage them as long as they could in the War, unless the Prince of *Orange* would interpose his Authority, which was so great with all the Allies, that they were sure of their consenting to whatever Terms the Prince should be resolute in proposing for the Peace. That to draw it therefore to a happy Issue, there was no way but for his Highness first to agree privately with *France* upon the Conditions, and what every Party should content themselves with; and afterwards, in the Course of the Treaty, to draw all things, by concert together, to the Scope agreed between them; in which the Prince might make use of the known Temper of the States to bring it to a sudden Issue, and to make a SEPARATE PEACE, in case the unreasonable Pretences of their Allies should hinder or delay a General One. That this part was acted by the *Elect*or of *Bavaria* at *Munster*, who was in private * to concert with *France*, through the whole Proceedings of that Treaty, tho he went on with the *Allies* in the Publick Transactions. That he ow'd the Greatness of his House to this Counsel, and to the Consideration and Support it had ever since receiv'd from the Crown of *France*. That by pursuing the same at *Nimeguen*, it would be in the Prince of *Orange's* power to do the same for himself and his Family: And that for what concern'd his own personal Interests and Advantages, their Master had given them Power to assure him, he should have the

* Here's an egregious Instance of the constant Artifices of *France* to divide the *Allies*.

‘ *Carte Blanche*, and draw his own Conditions upon
 ‘ it. That tho they had other ways of making
 ‘ this Overture to the Prince, yet they had Order
 ‘ to do it by none but Sir *William Temple*, if he
 ‘ would charge himself with it. That they knew
 ‘ the Credit and Confidence his Excellency was in
 ‘ with the Prince; and how far he would have
 ‘ Deference to his Opinions in what concern’d the
 ‘ publick Interests of his Highness’s Allies, as well
 ‘ as his own; and that if Sir *William* would espouse
 ‘ that Affair, besides the Glory of having *alone*
 ‘ given a Peace to *Christendom*, he might reckon
 ‘ upon what he pleas’d himself, from the Bounty
 ‘ and Generosity of the King their Master.’ This
 was the Sum of what was said by the Marechal
D’Estrades and Monsieur *Colbert*, tho in several and
 private Visits: But Sir *William* observ’d *Colbert* to
 have been instructed with more particular Confi-
 dence, and to design it with Sir *William*, even a-
 part from both his Collegues, and the other *Eng-*
lish Mediator, in the pursuit of this Intelligence.

Sir *William Temple* answer’d, ‘ That he was oblig’d
 ‘ to his most Christian Majesty for his good Opi-
 ‘ nion, and to them for having given it him, not
 ‘ having himself at all the Honour of being known
 ‘ to him. That he should make no ill use of this
 ‘ great Honour and Confidence, whether he should
 ‘ be able to make a good one or no. That for his
 ‘ *Britannick* Majesty’s Dispositions to promote the
 ‘ Peace, they knew them as well as he; but that
 ‘ many Considerations had engag’d him to instruct
 ‘ his Ministers, the MEDIATORS, only TO PRO-
 ‘ MOTE A GENERAL PEACE; and NOT TO
 ‘ ENTER INTO any Measures towards ANY
 ‘ PARTICULAR one, or SEPARATE, which such
 ‘ a *private and previous Concert* between *France* and
 ‘ the Prince of *Orange* would look very like: and
 ‘ therefore he (Sir *William*) did not see, how he

‘ could

‘ could enter upon it, without particular Orders
 ‘ from the King. That, besides, he would confess
 ‘ to them, that he did not think it would be of
 ‘ any great Effect, if he should receive them; and
 ‘ that the best Service he could do the *French* Am-
 ‘ bassadors, was to let them know very freely all
 ‘ that he knew, or, at least, thought of the Prince
 ‘ of *Orange*, and his Dispositions in this great Affair,
 ‘ that they might the better guess what Paces to
 ‘ expect from him. That he was sure he desir’d
 ‘ the Peace as much as the States could do. That
 ‘ the weak Conduct of *Spain*, and distracted Coun-
 ‘ sels of the Empire, was enough to force him
 ‘ upon it. That the Prince knew very well, there
 ‘ would be no Difficulty at all in the Terms of
 ‘ Peace between *France* and *Holland*; and that all
 ‘ would arise from their Allies, who had entred
 ‘ into the War only in their Defence. That their
 ‘ FAITH and HONOUR were since engag’d by many
 ‘ TREATIES, which hinder’d them from making
 ‘ any SEPARATE PEACE. That in all those
 ‘ Treaties the Prince’s HONOUR was more parti-
 ‘ cularly engag’d; upon which personally the feve-
 ‘ ral Princes Confederates were known to rely more
 ‘ than upon any publick Resolution, or Instruments
 ‘ of the States. That if any Offers could be made,
 ‘ towards bringing his Highness out of this War,
 ‘ with the Safety of his Honour, by the Satisfac-
 ‘ tion of his Allies, he (*Sir William*) was sure he
 ‘ would fall into them with Joy; but would never
 ‘ be induc’d to break from them against all Faith,
 ‘ by *separate Measures*, but by the last Extremities
 ‘ of the War, or Necessities at home. That for
 ‘ his own personal Interests, he was confident
 ‘ no Advantages to be offer’d him, would ever be
 ‘ consider’d by his Highness. That tho any such
 ‘ Offers, more than were avow’d in the Course of
 ‘ the Treaty, would, he believ’d, be taken ill by

' his Highness, from any who should make them;
 ' yet, whenever he saw him next, he would tell his
 ' Highness all that had pass'd in these Conversa-
 ' tions: But for the Deference they believ'd his
 ' Highness might have for his Sentiments, Sir Wil-
 ' liam assur'd them, his Opinion was, his Highness
 ' had none for his, or any Man's else, further
 ' than as their Arguments prevail'd upon his Judg-
 ' ment. That he had Sense enough to govern
 ' himself, and he believ'd he would always trust to
 ' it, tho he might advise with other Men.' After
 these Conversations, during the time Sir William
 Temple staid at *Nimeguen*, Monsieur Colbert made
 many small Attacks of this kind upon him; and
 sometimes contented himself only to let fall some
 things, to try if Sir William was dispos'd to enter
 further upon that Subject: But the Mareschal D'E-
 strades immediately after began to turn his Battery
 another way; which was upon Pensionary Fagel, by
 the Intervention of a Person of *Maestricht*, many
 of whose Letters the Pensionary shew'd to Sir Wil-
 liam; and with all the Offers that could be made
 of Consideration and Advantage to the Prince of
Orange's Interests: which met with no other Re-
 ception from his Highness, than what the English
 Ambassador had foretold.

After the first Visits between the Ministers *Media-*
tors and the *French* and *Dutch* Ambassadors, the for-
 mer receiv'd a Visit from the Magistrates of *Nime-*
guen, who, by Order from the States, offer'd to
 resign to their Excellencies Dispositions, the Go-
 vernment of the City during the present Treaty.
 The *Mediators* told them, it was his Majesty's Plea-
 sure, That they should not at all intermeddle with
 it; but that, on the contrary, they should consign
 into the hands of the ordinary Justice of the Town,
 any of their Domesticks that should be guilty of
 any Crime against the Peace or Government of

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of the Place; and that Justice should be done upon them, according to their Faults. Moreover, the *Mediators* propos'd some *Regulations*, for the Order and Quiet of so numerous an Assembly as this was like to prove; which being drawn up by Sir *William Temple* *, were wholly approv'd and consented to by the *Dutch*, and, after some Demur and small Alterations, by the *French* Plenipotentiaries. And it is to be observ'd, to Sir *William's* Honour, that these *Regulations* were the *Standard* of those made in *subsequent Treaties*. And Oh! that his *POLITICKS* had been so too! The *Mediators* apply'd themselves likewise to the Establishment of some Compass of *Neutral Country* about *Nimeguen*, for the Security, Convenience, and Diversion of the Ambassadors and their Attendants: The settling of which matter took up some time, by reason of some Difficulties † started by the *French Court*.

The general Points of the *Ceremonial* being adjusted, Sir *William Temple* thought fit to regulate one particularly relating to the *Mediators*, who declar'd, That they would dine with no Ambassador till the Peace was concluded, being desirous to avoid the Troubles and Engagements of perpetual Invitations, as well as the Unkindness of Excuses, at one time, or to some Person more than another. But, however, both Sir *William Temple's* and Sir *Lionel Jenkins's* Tables were open, each of them three Days in the Week, two Post Days being reserv'd to themselves for Business, and one for Diversion or Exercise abroad: And several of the Ambassadors, especially the *French*, came to their Tables notwithstanding this Resolution, which they seem'd to take a little to heart; and was undoubtedly meant by Sir *William* to prevent, in some measure, their Cabals and In-

* See his *Memoirs*, Part II. p. 176.

† Ubi supra, p. 180.

trigues. To make 'em some Amends, the Mediators divided the Nights by Turns, where there were any Ladies in the Ambassadors Houses, and where the Evenings were spent in Dancing or Play, and careless and easy Suppers or Collations. In these Entertainments, as Sir William seldom fail'd of making a part, and his Colleague never had any; so it gave occasion for a Jest that pass'd upon it, *Que * la Mediation étoit toujours sur Pied pour faire sa Fonction*: For Sir William us'd both to go to Bed, and rise, late; while Sir Lionel was a-Bed by Eight, and up by Four. And indeed, as Sir William allures us †, *Two more different Men were never join'd in one Commission, nor agreed better in it.*

As for Business, there was very little for many Months after the Congress began, till the Arrival of the Imperial Ministers. When the Assembly was compleated, a Place of Conference was, with much Difficulty, agreed at the Stadthouse of Nimeguen, where two Chambers were allotted for the Parties at War, and one for the Mediators. Nor was there any Point that gave them more Trouble, than the adjusting || of this. For the French were from the very first, *most declaredly averse from Treating by WRITINGS*, or from agreeing to a Place of *publick Conference*; conceiving this would tend to keep the Body of the Confederacy united in the Treaty, as well as in the War; whereas their Design was to BREAK THAT UNION IN THE CONGRESS, which they could not (AT THAT TIME) in the FIELD.

In the mean time, the Successes of the Campaign, that were expected absolutely to govern the Progress of the Treaty, ran as high to the Advantage

* That is, That the Mediation was always on foot, to go on with its Business.

† Ubi supra, p. 185.

|| Ubi supra, p. 187.

of the *French*, as to the Disadvantage of the *Swedes*, their Allies. By force of great Treasures and good Management of them, the *French* Magazines were always fill'd in the Winter, and they able to take the Field as soon as they pleas'd in the Spring: Whereas the *Spaniards*, for want of Mony and Order, were uncapable either to act by themselves upon any sudden Attempt, or to supply with Provisions in their March, either the *Dutch* or *Germans* that came to their Relief. By these means, the *French* King took Condé in four Days, towards the latter end of *April*; the Duke of *Orleans* carried *Bouchain* on the 12th of *May*, after five Days Siege; *Aire* suffer'd the same Fate on the last of *July*; and the Fort of *Linck* was taken on the 9th of *August*. On the other hand, the *Dutch* sustain'd an irreparable Loss in the Death of their famous Admiral *De Ruyter*, who was shot in a Sea-Engagement between the *French*, and the *Dutch* and *Spaniards*, near *Messina*: and the Prince of *Orange* was, by the Mareschal *De Schonberg*, oblig'd to raise the Siege of *Maestricht*, with the Glory, however, of having receiv'd a Musket-shot in his Arm.

The Campaign being over, the Parties engag'd in the War began to turn their Thoughts, or, at least, their Eyes, more towards the Motions of the Treaty of Peace, than hitherto they had done; and the Prince of *Orange*, much dissatisfy'd with the Conduct, Slowness, and Supineness of the Confederates, desir'd an Interview with Sir *William Temple* at *Soesdyke*, near *Amesfort*. Here his Highness complain'd much of the Counsels of his Allies, the Weakness, or rather Uselessness of the *Spanish* Troops in *Flanders*, for want of Pay or Order: The Imperial Armies acting without Design upon the *Rhine*, and with a Dependence upon Orders from *Vienna*, where the Emulation of the Ministers wrought such Distraction and Counterpaces in their Generals, that the Cam-

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paign had been spent with small Efforts, after the Promises of vigorously invading either Lorraine or France. How the Dukes of Lunenburgh had fail'd of sending their Troops to Maestricht; which, with the Sickness in the Camp, had render'd that Siege ineffectual, so that he began to despair of any good Issue of the War, and would be glad to hear his Excellency hop'd for a better of the Peace, upon their Scene at Nimeguen. Sir William told his Highness, how little Advances had been hitherto made, by the Slowness of his Allies in dispatching their Ministers thither: How little Success could be expected from the Pretensions of the Parties when they should meet, especially France pretending to retain all they had got by the War, and Spain to recover all they had lost. How the King his Master seem'd of the Mind to concern himself no farther than as a Mediator, his Ministers Orders being only to convey the Mind or Proposals of the Parties one to another, and even to avoid the Offers of any References upon them to his Majesty's Determination: so that it was his Opinion, that it must be the War alone that must make the Peace; and that he suppos'd it would, at one time or another, by the Weakness or Weariness of one of the Parties. The Prince seem'd to be of Sir William's mind, and said, The Events of War would depend upon the Conduct at Madrid and Vienna, before the next Campaign; for without some great Success, he could not believe the States would be induc'd to continue it longer. Thereupon Sir William told his Highness, what Discourse he had had with Monsr. Colbert, upon his Arrival at Nimeguen, in which his Highness was principally concern'd; whom the French would have gratify'd in any thing, if he did but prove compliable upon the Terms of the Peace. To this the Prince reply'd coldly, He had heard enough of the same kind another way, which Monsieur D'Estrades had found out to Pensionary Fagel, but that they knew him little, who made such Overtures: And as for his

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own Interests and Advantages, let them find a way of saving his Honour, by satisfying Spain, and nothing of his Concern should retard the Peace for an Hour.

The Conversation being thus ended, the *English* Ambassador return'd to *Nimeguen*, where the *French* made all the Advances they could towards the Progress of the Treaty; and they were, no doubt, in earnest, being in a Posture to insist upon their present Possessions: And having made a great hand of this last Summer, were willing, like winning Gamesters, to give over, unless oblig'd to play on by the Losers. The *Swedes* were more in haste, and in earnest for the Peace than any. The *Dutch* were grown impatient for it, finding *France* would make no difficulty of any thing between them: but *Denmark* and *Brandenburgh* were as violent against it; having swallow'd up, in their Hopes, all that *Sweden* had possess'd in *Germany*; and the Emperor seem'd to pretend little more, after the taking of *Philipsburgh* the last Summer, besides the Restitution of *Lorrain*, and the Towns of *Alsace*, to the posture they were left in by the *Munster* Treaty: yet they were so fast link'd both with their *German* Allies, as well as *Spain*, that they resolv'd to make no Step in the Treaty but by common Consent. On the other hand, *Spain*, tho sensible of the ill Condition of their Affairs, both in *Flanders* and in *Sicily*; yet upon a Design then hatching at *Madrid*, for removing the Queen Regent and her Ministry, to place *Don John* at the head of the Government, had conceiv'd great Hopes to recover those desperate Infirmities, which their inveterate Disorders, both in Counsels and Conduct, had for a long time occasion'd: Besides the Assurances they had still given them from their Ministers in *England*, that his *Britannick* Majesty would not, after all, be contented to see *Flanders* lost, or would be forc'd into the War by the Humour of the Parliament.

ment. For these Reasons, the Allies seem'd to make no haste at all to the Congress. But about the end of *September*, the *French* Ambassadors gave the *English Mediators* notice, that their Master was resolv'd to recal his Ambassadors, unless those of the chief Confederates should repair to *Nimeguen* within the space of a Month. This the *Mediators* communicated to the *Dutch* Ambassadors, and they to the States; who, after some Conference with the Ministers of the Allies, came to a Resolution, that they would enter upon the Treaty themselves, if the Ministers of their Confederates should not repair to *Nimeguen* by the first of *November*, *old Stile*. This Resolution had so good Effect, that the several Allies did, upon it, begin to hasten away one or other of their intended Ambassadors towards *Nimeguen*, (as Count *Kinski* from *Vienna*, Don *Pedro Ronquillo* from *England*, where he then resided as *Spanish* Envoy) but not the Persons principally intrusted, or at the head of their Embassies, nor with Powers to proceed further than Preliminaries: And from *Denmark* Monsieur *Heug*, without any News of Count *Antoine's* Preparation, who was appointed chief of that Embassy; any more than of the Bishop of *Gurke*, or Marquis *de los Balbaces*, the chiefest of those design'd from the Emperor and *Spain*. Upon the * delivery of the respective *Full-Powers* of the several Ambassadors into the hands of the Mediators in *November*, the *Dutch* Ambassadors made several Exceptions against some Expressions in the *French* and *Swedish* Prefaces to their Powers. After much Debate, they all agreed in the desiring the *English Mediators* to draw up a Form of Powers to be us'd by all Parties, which was done and approv'd by them all, with some Reserve only from the *French*, whether it would be fit to

* November 21.

mention any *Mediation*, since that of the *Pope* was left out; and some Overtures made to the *English* Ambassadors, whether they would be content to leave out all mention of his Majesty's *Mediation*, as well as that of the *Pope*. This they excus'd themselves from doing, the whole Frame of the Congress having proceeded from his Majesty's *Mediation*, without any Intervention of the *Pope's*; and the King's having been accepted by all the Parties, which the *Pope's* had not been; but on the contrary, the very mention of it in the Powers, protested against by several of them. Moreover, by Order they receiv'd from his *Britannick* Majesty upon this Dispute, they declar'd to all the Parties, That tho his Majesty pretended not to exclude any other *Mediation* that the Parties should think fit to use, yet he could not in any wise act jointly with that of the *Pope*, nor suffer his Ministers to enter into any Commerce, either of Visits or Conferences, with any of his, that might be employ'd at *Nimeguen*. The *Spanish* Ambassador agreed with the *French* in this one Point, of desiring either that the *Pope's Mediation* might be mention'd in their Powers, or that his *Britannick* Majesty, in consideration of the Peace, would suffer his to be left out; but the *Danes*, on t'other side, agreed with the *Dutch* in refusing to admit any Power with mention of the *Pope's Mediation*. There arose likewise another Difficulty, from a seeming Expedient propos'd by the *Dutch*, of having from each Party several Powers granted for treating with the several Parties they were in War with; which the *French* refus'd, or to grant other Powers than for the *Dutch* and their Allies: and in these Disputes the Year 1676 ended.

About the latter end of *December*, the Prince of *Orange* writ very earnestly to Sir *William Temple* to make a step, for some few Days, to the *Hague*: And Sir *William* finding all things without present

Motion at *Nimeguen*, went thither the last Day of the Year. The first of the next having attended his Highness, they fell into large Discourses of the Progress of the Treaty, and Coldness of the Parties; the affected Delays of the *Imperialists* and *Spaniards*; the declar'd Aversion of the *Danes* and *Brandenburghers*; and concluded how little was to be expected from the formal Steps of this Congress: Upon all which, the Prince ask'd the *English* Minister, Whether he had heard any more of his Majesty's Mind upon the Peace? Sir *William* told him, that he remembred a Saying in his Majesty's last Letter to him upon that Subject; which was, *That he concluded from the Prince's Discourses to Sir William, that he had no mind to a Peace. That he was sorry for it, because he thought it was his Interest to have it. That he had try'd to know the Mind of France upon it; but if they would not open themselves farther of one side, nor his Highness on the other, than they had yet done, he would content himself with performing his Part of a Mediator, and in the common Forms.* The Prince told Sir *William*, *This look'd very cold, since his Majesty was alone able to make the Peace; and knew very well what it would come to, by the Forms of the Congress. That for his own part, he desir'd it, and had a great deal of reason, both because his Majesty seem'd to do so, and to think it his own Interest as well as the Prince's, and because the States not only thought it their Interest, but absolutely necessary for them. That he would not say this to any but the King, by Sir William; because if France should know it, they would, he doubted, be harder upon the Terms. That both Spain and the Emperor had less mind to it now, than they had at the end of the last Campaign; so that none of the Allies had a mind to it, besides the States. That for his own part, he should always be in the same Mind with them; and that if his Majesty would let him know freely the Conditions upon which*

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either he desir'd, or believ'd it might be made, he would endeavour to concert it the best he could with his Majesty, and that with all the Freedom and Sincereness in the World; so it might be done with any Safety to his own Honour, and the Interest of his Country. All which he desir'd Sir William Temple to write directly to his Majesty from him.

Two Days after, Sir William had a Conference with Pensionary Fagel, wherein the latter confirm'd to him, *That the States not only desir'd a Peace from their Hearts, but thought it absolutely necessary for them; nay, that they would not insist upon a Peace according to their Allies Pretensions; nor could he answer that they would not make a SEPARATE ONE.* Sir William Temple reply'd, *That was a matter of such moment, as he was sure they would think of it another Year, before they did it.* With this the Pensionary began a Discourse with more Heat and Earnestness than agreed well with the Posture of Health he was in, saying, *That they had thought enough of it already, and with thinking much, began to find it was without Remedy.* Then he fell into Expostulations with their Allies, but principally the Spaniards; and concluded, *That tho he should agree to a SEPARATE TREATY with the greatest Regret that could be, yet he did not see what else was to be done; and did not know one Man in Holland that was not of the same Mind.* Sir William ask'd him, *What he reckon'd would become of Flanders, after the Dutch had made their SEPARATE PEACE; because the Fate of that Country was that whereon the rest of their Neighbours were concern'd, as well as they?* Monsieur Fagel answer'd, *That he believ'd Cambray, Valenciennes, Namur, and Mons, might be lost in one Summer. That after their Loss, the great Towns within would not offer at defending themselves, excepting Antwerp and Ostend; for which, perhaps, they might take some Measures with France, as he knew*

the French had offer'd Monsieur De Wit upon their first Invasion in 1667. Sir William Temple interrupting him, ask'd him, *How he reckon'd their State was to live with France, after the Loss of Flanders? And if he thought it could be otherwise than at DISCRETION?* The Pensionary desir'd his Excellency to believe, *That if they could hope to save Flanders by the War, they would not think of a SEPARATE PEACE; but if it must be lost, they had rather it should be by the last, which would less exhaust their Country, and dishonour the Prince. That after Flanders was lost, they must live so with France, as would make them find it their Interest rather to preserve their State, than to destroy it. That the French could make better use of the Dutch FLEETS, than of the few Fisher-Towns, that they should be reduc'd to, if any Violations were made, either upon their Liberties or Religion. That the King of France had seen their Country, and knew it; and said upon all Occasions, That he had rather have them for his Friends, than his Subjects. That the Separate Treaty was not to be chosen, but to be swallow'd like a desperate Remedy. That for his own part, he had ever believ'd that England would cry ALT, at one Step or other that France was making; and that if the English would be content to see HALF Flanders lost, yet they would not ALL, nor Sicily neither, for the Interest of their Trade in the Mediterranean. That the King of Great Britain had the Peace in his Hands for these two Years past, and might have made it when he pleas'd, and upon such Conditions as he should think fit, for Justice and Safety to the rest of his Neighbours, as well as himself. That all Men knew France was not in a Condition to refuse whatever Terms his Britannick Majesty resolv'd on; or to venture a War with England, in Conjunction with the rest of the Allies. That they had long represented all this in England by Monsieur Van Beuningen, and offer'd his Majesty to be the AR-*

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BITER of the Peace; but not a word in Answer, and all receiv'd with such Coldness as never was: the other People thought the English had more reason to be concern'd, since AFTER A SEPARATE PEACE THE AIMS OF FRANCE WOULD BE MORE UPON ITALY, OR GERMANY, OR PERHAPS UPON ENGLAND.

The next Morning Sir William Temple acquainted the Prince with his Conference with the Pensionary, and how, among other things, he said, *That he saw nothing else to be done, but to make a SEPARATE PEACE; and that he knew not a Man in Holland who was not of his mind.* Thereupon the Prince interrupted him, saying, *Yes, I am sure I know one, and that is my self; and I will do it as long as I can.* Sir William ask'd him, Whether he was of the Pensionary's Mind, as to what he thought likely to happen the next Campaign? His Highness answer'd, *The Appearances were ill, but Campaigns did not always end as they began. That Accidents might happen, which no Man could foresee; and that if they came to one fair Battel, none could answer for the Event. That the King might make the Peace, if he pleas'd, before it began; but if the English were so indifferent as to let this Season pass, for his part he must go on and take his Fortune.* That he had seen that Morning, a poor old Man tugging alone in a little Boat with his Oars against the Eddy of a Sluce, upon a Canal: that when, with the last Endeavours, he was just got up to the Place intended, the Force of the Eddy carry'd him quite back again; but he turn'd his Boat as soon as he could, and fell to his Oars again, and thus three or four times whilst he saw him; concluding this old Man's Business and his, were too like one another; and that he ought, however, to do just as the old Man did, without knowing what would succeed, any more than what did in the Poor Man's Case.

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The Result of these Conferences, Sir *William Temple* very particularly represented to the Court of *England*, that his Majesty might want no Lights that were so necessary upon so nice, and yet so dangerous a Conjunction. The King answer'd him in a long Letter of his own Hand, *Complaining much of the Confederate Ministers in London caballing with Parliament-Men, and raising all Men's Spirits as high against the Peace as they could: And that they had done it to such a degree, as made it very difficult for him to make any Steps with France towards a GENERAL TREATY, unless the Dutch Ambassador would first put in a Memorial, pressing his Majesty, from the States, to do it; and declaring, That without it, they saw Flanders would be lost.* The Prince and Pensionary were both willing the King should be comply'd with, in relation to the Steps and Language of the *Dutch Ambassador at London*: But his Highness press'd Sir *William* to write once more to know his Majesty's Opinion upon the Terms of the Peace; or else, he said, *it would be too late, while the Season advanc'd towards the Campaign.* Sir *William* desir'd the Prince to consider *, there would be three Weeks time lost; and that his Majesty would take it kinder, if his Highness explain'd himself first. The Prince paus'd a while, and then said, *To shew the Confidence he desir'd to live in with his Majesty, he would make no farther difficulty of it, tho he might have many Reasons for it. That if the King had a mind to make a sudden Peace, he thought he must do it upon the foot of Aix-la-Chapelle; which he would have the more ground for, because it was a Peace he both made and warranted. That for Exchanges, he thought there should be no others propos'd upon it, but only of Aeth and Charleroy, for Aire and St. Omer; which two last, he thought, imported a great deal more to France than*

* See his *Memoirs*, Part II. p. 225. & seq.

the others; unless they would declare, that they intended to end this War with the Prospect of beginning another, by which they might get the rest of Flanders. That this was all that should pass between France and Spain; and for the Emperor and the States, that the first having taken Philipsburgh from the French, should raze it; and the French having taken Maestricht from the Dutch, should raze it too; and this whole War should pass, like a Whirlwind that had ceas'd, after it had threatned much, and made but little alteration in the World. Sir William Temple was surpriz'd to hear a Proposition so on the sudden, so judicious, so short, and so decisive, and that seem'd so easy towards a short Close, if his Britannick Majesty should give into it. However, his Excellency observ'd to his Highness, that he had not explain'd what was to become of Lorrain and Burgundy; and next, Whether he believ'd it at all likely, that France should come to such Restitutions, of what they had lately acquir'd, without an Equivalent? The Prince reply'd, Both were explain'd by the Terms he propos'd, of Aix-la-Chapelle: That for Lorrain, France never pretended to keep it, but from the last Duke only. That Burgundy could not be parted with by Spain, without the French restoring so many Towns in Flanders, as would raise endless Debates, and so leave the Business to the Decision of another Campaign. For the second, he said, he had reason to doubt it, and did not believe it would be done, but by his Britannick Majesty's vigorous Interposition: But if his Majesty would not endeavour it, the War must go on, and God Almighty must decide it. That for himself, the King could never do so kind a part, as to bring him with Honour out of it, and upon some moderate Terms; but if he was content that France should make them insupportable, the Allies would venture all, rather than receive them. And for Holland's making a Separate Peace, let the Pensionary, or any others, say what they would,

would, they should never do it while he was alive, and was able to hinder it. And he would say one thing more, That he believ'd he was able to hinder it. That if he died, he knew it would be done the next Day; but when that should happen, this matter must be some others Care; and perhaps, THE ENGLISH WERE THE MOST CONCERN'D TO LOOK AFTER IT. Sir William Temple gave an account of this Discourse to his Majesty; and in the mean time, Sir Lionel Jenkins having discover'd a secret and separate Negotiation between the French and the Dutch Plenipotentiaries, inform'd the Court of it; and receiv'd an immediate Order from the King of Great Britain, That in case they found a Separate Peace concluding, or concluded, they should publicly protest against it in his Majesty's Name. This, however, was prevented by Sir William Temple's representing, both to the Treasurer and Mr. Secretary Coventry, the insignificance of such a Protestation; urging, 'That if a SEPARATE PEACE
' between France and Holland were thought as
' dangerous in the Court, as it was in the Country,
' the King might endeavour to prevent it, and had
' it still in his Power: But if it were once concluded,
' he did not see any other effect of our Protestation,
' unless it were to irritate both the Parties,
' and bind them the faster, by our being angry at
' their Conjunction. Nor did Sir William know
' what ground could be assign'd for such a Protestation;
' for tho the Parties had accepted his Majesty's Mediation, of a General Peace, yet none of
' them had oblig'd themselves to his Majesty, not
' to treat of a Separate One, or without his Offices,
' as Mediator. That as to prevent the thing, might
' be a very wise and necessary Counsel; so his Majesty's Resolution on it ought to be signify'd as
' early as could be, where it was likely to be of moment to that end, which was to FRANCE.
' That

‘ That it was better to anger any one of the Parties before a Separate Peace, rather than both of them after; and if we must strain any Points of Courtesy with them, to do it rather by making a FAIR AND GENERAL PEACE, than by complaining or protesting against a Separate One.’ But, says Sir William, the Counsels at Court were so in Ballance, between the Desires of living at least fair with FRANCE, and the Fears of too much displeasing the Parliaments upon their frequent Sessions, that our Paces upon this whole Affair, look’d all like cross Purposes, which no Man, at Home or Abroad, could well understand; and were often mistaken, by both Parties engag’d in the War, as well as by both Parties in the House of Commons, till the THING WAS WRESTED OUT OF OUR HANDS.

Sir William Temple having * receiv’d his Majesty’s Answer to his Dispatches by the Prince’s Directions, carry’d them immediately away to Dieren, and there communicated them to the Prince. The King’s Answer consisted of two parts. The first, *An Offer of his Majesty’s entring into the strongest Defensive Alliance with the Dutch, thereby to secure them from all Apprehensions from France, after the Peace should be made.* And the second was, his Majesty’s Remarks, rather than Conclusion, upon the Terms propos’d by the Prince for a Peace: *That he believ’d it might be compass’d with France, upon the Exchange of Cambray, Aire, and St. Omer, for Aeth, Charleroy, Oudenarde, Condé, and Bouchain. That this Scheme was what his Majesty thought possible to be obtain’d of France, tho not what was to be wish’d.*

The Prince’s Countenance chang’d when Sir William Temple nam’d Cambray, and the rest of the Towns; nevertheless his Highness heard him through, and the many nice Reasons of Sir Joseph

*. January 25. 1677.

Williamson upon the matter, as of a *double Frontier*, this would give to *Flanders*; the Safety whereof his Majesty and the States were most concern'd in, and many other ways of *cutting the Feather*. After which the Prince said, He believ'd Dinner was ready, and they would talk of it when they had din'd; tho he would tell him now, and in few words, *That he must RATHER DIE than make such a Peace*. After Dinner, the Prince told the *English Ambassador*, *That he had spoil'd his Dinner*; that he had not expected such a Return, of the Confidence he had begun towards his Majesty. He observ'd, the Offer of an Alliance came to him in a Letter of his Majesty's own hand; but that about the Terms of a Peace, from a Secretary only. That it was in a Stile, as if he thought him a Child, or to be fed with WHIPT CREAM. That since all these had been before the *Foreign Committee*, he knew very well it had been with the *French Ambassador* too, &c. That the Terms were his, and a great deal worse than they could have directly from France. That, in short, all must be ventur'd, since he was in, and found no other way out: and that he would rather charge a Thousand Men with an Hundred; nay, tho he were sure to die in the Charge, than enter into any Concert of a Peace upon these Conditions.

Sir *William Temple* gave the King an account of all that pass'd in this Interview at *Dieren*; and return'd to his Post at *Nimeguen*, where he found that Mr. *Laurence Hyde* * had encreas'd the number of the Mediators. That Gentleman having been sent into *Poland* to christen that King's Child, and to condole with the Emperor, upon the late Empress's Death, had perform'd the first Compliment from his Majesty; but upon his coming from thence to *Vienna*, found the Emperor married, and so pass'd on privately home; and arriv'd at *Nime-*

* *The late Earl of Rochester.*

guen soon after Sir William left it, upon his Journey to the *Hague*. Upon his return by *Rotterdam*, he there met Letters from Court, with a Commission to stop, for some short time, at *Nimeguen*, and take the Character of one of the Ambassadors Mediators; by which he might be enabled, at his Return, to give his Majesty an account of the State and Progress of Affairs there. The purport of these Letters, Mr. *Hyde* communicated to Sir William; who, upon his seeming uncertain what to do, advis'd him to go back to *Nimeguen*, which he did; and made a part of the Embassy, during a short stay there; but excus'd himself from entering into the Management of any Conferences or Dispatches: So that by his Modesty, and my Lord *Berkley's* (who was at the head of the Embassy) great Age and Infirmities, the Fatigue of that Employment lay still upon Sir William Temple and Sir Lionel Jenkins, who writ alternatively the Dispatches from the Embassy to Court, and the others to foreign Princes and Ministers, by concert. Sir William found likewise, at his return to *Nimeguen*, some few Difficulties yet remaining, which obstructed the Dispatch intended about the Full-Powers; one particularly, which concern'd his *Britannick* Majesty. Both *French* and *Spaniards*, as well as Imperialists, had insisted, even with Emulation, that the Pope's Mediation should be mention'd in the new Powers, as well as his Majesty's. But the *Dutch* and *Danes* absolutely refusing to treat upon that foot, it was, at length, resolv'd, that the mention of his Majesty's Mediation alone, should be made in the several Powers: And so all being agreed, about the middle of *February* 1677, the several Acts were sign'd, and put into the Mediators Hands, and by them exchange'd among the several Parties. After this dispatch of the formal Preliminaries to the Treaty, the several Parties, by agreement, brought into the Hands

of the Mediators, their several Propositions or Pretensions; by which it easily appear'd to the World, what wise Men knew before, how little hopes there were of a Peace, from the Motions of this Treaty; and how it was wholly to be expected from the Course and Influence of future Events in the Progress of the War.

About the 24th of February, Sir William Temple, upon the Prince of Orange's desire, went to his Highness's House at Soesdyke, a day's Journey from Nimeguen; and told his Highness the Contents of his last Dispatch from England. The Prince ask'd him, Whether it were from the King himself, or any of his Ministers? To which Sir William answering, It was from Secretary Williamson, by the King's Command; the Prince said, ' That he knew from whence it came; but, however, desir'd Sir William to read the Particulars to him: which were, the King's Apprehension of a Mistake in the Prince; because the Terms mention'd by his Majesty were not any Proposals (which he did not think his part to make) but only a piece of Confidence he had entred into with the Prince. Next, that the Exchange of Cambray was only propos'd, as a thing to be wish'd; that so six Towns might be restor'd to Spain, instead of Five the Prince had propos'd; which, in his Majesty's Opinion, would make a kind of a double Frontier to Brussels, and so leave Flanders safer than by the Prince's Scheme. Therefore his Majesty desir'd his Highness to think further of it; and not let it fall so flat as he did by his last Answer, without trying what it could be beaten out to. But, however, that if his Highness had any other Proposition to make to France, the King would very readily hand it over to them in the best manner he could.' Whilst Sir William Temple was reading this to the Prince, his Highness could hardly hear it with
any

any Patience, Sir *Joseph Williamson's* Style was always so disagreeable to him; and he thought the whole Cast of this so artificial, that he receiv'd it, at first, with Indignation and Scorn, rather than with those further Thoughts that were desir'd of him. He said, 'The Style of *letting it fall so flat*, 'was my Lord *Arlington's*, and *the double Frontier, as it were, for Brussels*, some of the Secretary's *whipt Cream*, and fit for Children. The rest he took to be all the *French Ambassador's*; who would fain continue a private Treaty with him, by the King's Hand, while his Master went into the Field.' As to his Highness's Answer, it was very plain: 'That he had thought enough of it, and had no more to say at this time. That when he spoke to Sir *William* so lately at the *Hague*, he believ'd the Peace might have been made, and upon better Terms than he propos'd, if the King had desir'd them from *France*, either upon Kindness to him, or upon the *Interests of his own Crowns*. That he was sorry to find the King's Thoughts so different from his; and that whenever they grew nearer, he should be glad to know it. But he look'd now upon the Campaign as begun, and believ'd, at the time they talk'd, the Guns were playing before *Valenciennes*. That he saw now no hopes of a Peace, but expected a long War, unless *Flanders* should be lost; and in that case, the States must make the best Terms they could. That he expected a very ill beginning of the Campaign, and to make an ill Figure in it himself, and to bear the shame of Faults that others would make: but if the Emperor perform'd what he promis'd, the Campaign might not end as it began. That however, he was in, and must go on; adding, And when one is at High Mass, one is at it; meaning, one must stay till 'tis done, because the Crowd is so great one can't get out.' After these, and some other

other Discourses, the Prince went immediately away for the *Hague*, and Sir *William Temple* return'd to *Nimeguen*, where all Negotiations seem'd wholly at a stand, and so continu'd till towards the end of *April*.

Whilst the Congress was amus'd with trivial Disputes about *Visits*, the essential parts of the Treaty were manag'd in the Field. *France* having, in the beginning of the Year, block'd up *Cambray* and *Valenciennes*, and provided sufficient Magazines for the Subsistence of their Troops, they began, about the end of *February*, to march into *Flanders*, and to make Incursions into the parts of *Germany* on t'other side the *Rhine*, with the most cruel Ravaging and Spoiling that was ever practis'd by the most savage and barbarous Enemies. The Allies made Complaints of this new manner of making War to his *Britannick* Majesty, who faintly employ'd his good Offices towards *France*, to hinder such prosecution of a Quarrel, while a Peace was treating under his Majesty's Mediation: But the thing was done, and the *French* had gain'd their Point; which was, by an intire Ruin of the Country, to hinder the Imperialists from finding any Subsistence for their Troops, if they should march into *Alsace*, and thereby give a Diversion to those Forces that the *French* resolv'd to employ in *Flanders*, before the *Dutch* could take the Field. Thus about the 17th of *March* the King of *France* took *Valenciennes*; from whence he march'd with a mighty Army, and laid Siege to *Cambray* with one part of it, and to *St. Omer* with the other, under the Duke of *Orleans*. After five Days siege, the City of *Cambray* surrender'd upon Articles; but the Cittadel held out for some Days longer.

In the mean time, the *Dutch* having receiv'd their Payments due from *Spain*, and finding the *French* go on with their Design upon *Flanders*, whilst the Treaty

Treaty serv'd but for an Amusement, resolv'd to carry on the War, at least, another Campaign; being kept up to this Resolution by the Vigour of the Prince. On the first Motion of the *French*, his Highness began to prepare for that of his Troops likewise; but for all the Diligence and Application that could be us'd, he could not come to the Relief either of *Valenciennes* or *Cambray*: But with part of the Forces of the States alone; and without other Troops, or so much as Guides furnish'd by the *Spaniards*, he march'd directly towards *St. Omer*. The Duke of *Orleans* leaving a small part of his Troops to defend his Trenches before that Place, march'd to meet the Prince of *Orange*; and upon the way was reinforc'd by Monsieur de *Luxemburgh*, with all the Troops the *French* King could spare from the Siege of the Cittadel of *Cambray*. These Armies met, and fought with great Bravery at *Mount Cassel*; where, after a sharp Dispute, the first Regiment of the *Dutch* Infantry began to break, and fell into Disorder. The Prince went immediately to that part where the Shock began, rally'd them several times, and renew'd the Charge; but, at last, was born down by the Flight of his Men, whom he was forc'd to resist like Enemies; and fell in among them with his Sword in his hand: and cutting the first he met cross over the Face, he cried aloud, *Rascal! I'll set a Mark on thee at least, that I may hang you afterwards.* Voice nor Action, Threats nor Example could give Courage to Men that had already lost it: and so the Prince was forc'd to yield to the Stream that carry'd him back to the rest of his Troops, which yet stood firm; and with whom, and those he could rally, he made a Retreat that came little short of the Honour of a Victory. The Safety of the *Dutch* Army upon this Misfortune, was by them own'd to be wholly owing to his Highness's Conduct and Bravery, in the Course
of

of this Action : after which, both *St. Omer* and the Cittadel of *Cambray* were surrendred to the *French* about the 20th of *April* ; with which the *Spaniards* lost the main Strength of their Frontier of *Flanders* on that side, as they had done that on the other, by *Aeth* and *Charleroy* in the former War : So as there now remain'd nothing of Frontier considerable, besides *Namur* and *Mons* to the Land, and *Ostend* and *Newport* to the Sea. The rest of the *Spanish Netherlands* consisting only of great Towns, by which no Resistance could be hop'd for, were like to become an entire Conquest whenever the *French* should think fit to attack them. But this, says Sir William Temple *, the *Spaniards* thought would never be suffer'd, neither by England nor Holland ; and so they seem'd to have abandon'd the Fate of *Flanders* to their Care, with a Resignation that became good Christians, rather than good Politicians : For (adds Sir William) I have long observ'd from all I have seen or heard, or read in Story, that nothing is so fallacious, as to reason upon the Counsels or Conduct of Princes or States, from what one conceives to be the TRUE INTEREST of their Countries : for there is in all Places an INTEREST OF THOSE THAT GOVERN, and another of those that are govern'd ; nay, among these, there is an Interest of quiet Men, that desire only to keep what they have, and another of unquiet Men, who desire to acquire what they have not ; and by violent, if they cannot by lawful Means : therefore I never could find a better way of judging the Resolutions of a State, than by the Personal Temper and Understanding, or Passions and Humours of the PRINCES or CHIEF MINISTERS, that were for the time at the Head of Affairs. But it seems the *Spaniards*, at that Juncture, (as others have done since) reason'd only from the Interest of each

* See his Memoirs, Part II. p. 260.

Country. They knew *Holland* would save *Flanders*, if they could; and *England* they were sure, could, if they would; and believ'd would be brought to it at last, by the Increase of the Danger, and Force of their Interest, with the Humour of the People. In this hope they were entertain'd by their Ministers then in *England*, Don *Bernard de Salinas* Envoy from *Spain*, and *Fonseca*, Consul there; who very industriously fomented the Heats that began, about this time, to appear in the Parliament, upon the apprehensions of the *French* Conquests, both in *Flanders* and *Sicily*: Which mov'd them, about the beginning of *March*, to address the King, desiring his Majesty to put a stop to the Progresses of *France*, before they grew dangerous to *England*, as well as to their Neighbours, and for that purpose, to strengthen himself with stricter Alliances. Don *Bernard de Salinas* inform'd some of the Commons, that the King was very angry at this Address, and had said upon it, That the *Authors of it were a Company of Rogues*: Which made a great Noise in the House of Commons. The King resented it as a piece of Malice in *Salinas*, or at least, a Design to inflame the House; and thereupon order'd him to depart the Kingdom within certain Days: Which prov'd afterwards a Precedent for sending away ANOTHER FOREIGN MINISTER, much upon the like Pique. Yet about two Months after, the Parliament made another Address *, desiring his Majesty to make a League Offensive and Defensive, with the States-General, for opposing the Progress of the *French* Conquests. This, by the ill Advice of his Ministers, his Majesty look'd upon as an Invasion of his PREROGATIVE; made them an angry Answer, and so adjourn'd the Parliament.

The King of *France* observing every Motion, both of his Friends and Enemies, and more par-

* May 23. O. S.

ticularly the Temper of the *English* Parliament; had so much regard to the Jealousies they had conceiv'd, of his designing an entire Conquest of the rest of *Flanders*, that after having gain'd three considerable Frontier Towns in the Spring, and dispos'd his Army into Quarters of Refreshment, he went to *Dunkirk*; from whence he sent the Duke of *Crequi* to his *Britannick* Majesty with a Compliment, and a Letter, containing in substance, *That to shew he had no Intention to CONQUER Flanders, but only to make a General Peace, he was contented, notwithstanding the great Advantages and Forces he had at present, to make a general Truce, for some Years, in case his Ally, the King of Sweden, would agree to it; which he desir'd his Majesty to inform himself of, since he had no Convenience of doing it for want of Liberty of Couriers into Sweden.*

There were various Constructions made of this Letter, and it was generally look'd upon as a *Politick Fetch* of the *French* King, to put his *Britannick* Majesty upon waving the Declaration which his Parliament press'd him to. At *Nimeguen* the *French* Ambassadors made a great shew of it among the several Ministers there, till they found it had an Effect contrary to what was intended, and was taken by all for too gross an Artifice, Monsieur *Beverning*, the *Dutch* Plenipotentiary, tho of all others the most forward for a Peace, yet resented it to that degree, that he said openly, *That the French were to be commended, who never neglected any thing of Importance, nor so much as of Amusement. That France had given their Blow, and now would hinder their Allies from giving theirs. That the Reserve of Sweden's Consent was an easy way of avoiding the Truce, if the Allies should accept it. That this it self could not be done, because Flanders would be left so open, as to be easily swallow'd up by the next Invasion, having no Frontier on either side. That the*

Town

Towns now possess'd by France, would, in the time of a Truce, grow absolutely French, and so the harder to be restor'd by a Peace or a War. That for his part, he desir'd the Peace, contrary to the Politicks of Monsieur Van Beuningen, and the other Ministers of the Allies in England; affirming always, that notwithstanding all their Intrigues and Intelligences there, he (Monsieur Beverning) was assur'd, That his Britannick Majesty would not enter into the War to save the last Town in Flanders. In pursuance of this Confidence, he follow'd all the ways imaginable towards a Peace, and by such Steps as some thought forwarder than his Commission, and very ill concerted with those of the Allies; so that about July all Points were adjusted between the French and Hollanders: And Monsieur Beverning began to act the part of something more than a Mediator, pressing on his Allies towards a Peace with great Earnestness, not to say Roughness; tho but with very small effect: for there was little more done of any moment towards it the rest of this Summer, save the Messages that pass'd to and fro, about the Business of the Duke of Lorrain.

About the end of May, the Pope's Nuncio arriv'd at Nimeguen; whereupon the Swedish and Danish Ambassadors went to the English Mediators, desiring to know, how they intended to carry themselves in relation to that Minister; and professing, they were resolv'd to observe and follow the Steps that should be made by their Excellencies. The Mediators cut the Business very short, and declar'd to them their Resolutions, to have no sort of Commerce with the Pope's Nuncio; either in the Affairs of their Function, or in Matters of Ceremony: Adding, their Orders from Court were so positive in this Point, that they would admit of no Debate. The next day, Monsieur Colbert and Count D'Avaux came formally to notify to the English Ambassadors,

dors, the *Nuncio's* Arrival, and his desire to make them his first Compliments, if he might know they would be receiv'd. The *Mediators* Answer was the same they had made to the *Swedes* and *Danes*; and soon after, all the Ministers of *Protestant* Princes at *Nimeguen*, resolv'd to follow the Example of the *English*.

In the mean time, the Confederates made great Instances in *England*, that his Majesty would recal his Troops that were in the *French* Service; attributing most of their Successes in *Germany*, to the Bravery of those *English* Regiments. But his Majesty excus'd it, upon the Equality of a *Mediator*, since there were likewise *English* Troops in the Service of the Allies: who took this Answer, however, for an ill sign of the Protection they hop'd from his Majesty, for the Support of their languishing Affairs. The Expectation of those great Actions promis'd by the Imperialists this Campaign upon the *Rhine*, began to wear out; their Troops finding no Subsistence in those Countries, which had been wholly ruin'd by the *French* in the beginning of the Year, to prevent their march. The Pr. of *Orange* reflecting on all these Circumstances, and foreseeing no Resource for the Interests of the Confederates, unless from the King of *England*; and that he was like to spend the rest of the Summer in *Flanders*, in Marches and Countermarches, the *French* resolving not to hazard another Battel, and he not able to sit down before a Town, and oppose a *French* Army that should come to relieve it: His Highness, I say, sent Monsieur *Bentink* (the late Earl of *Portland*) over into *England*, about the beginning of *June*, to desire his *Britannick* Majesty's leave that he might make a Journey thither so soon as the Campaign ended; both to pursue his intended *Marriage*, and to concert Measures with his Majesty, to bring *France* to reasonable Terms. The King return'd him

him a civil Answer, but with wishes, that he would first think of making the Peace, and rather defer his Journey till that were concluded.

About the middle of *June*, Sir *William Temple's* Son * came over to him at *Nimeguen*, with Letters from the Lord Treasurer, signifying his Majesty's Pleasure, 'That he should come over and enter ' upon the Secretary of State's Office, which ' Mr. *Coventry* had offer'd his Majesty to lay down, ' upon the Payment of ten Thousand Pounds. That ' the King would pay half the Mony, and Sir *Wil-* ' *liam* must lay down the rest at present; tho his ' Lordship did not doubt the King would find the ' way of easing him, in time, of that too.' Sir *Wil-* *liam* writ immediately to the Lord Treasurer, to make his Acknowledgment to the King; but excusing himself, at the same time, that he was not in a Condition to lay down such a Sum, his Father being still alive, and keeping the Estate of the Family; and desiring that the King's Intention might, at least, be respited till his Majesty saw how the present Treaty was like to determine. In answer to his Letters, one of the King's Messengers arriv'd Express on the 2d of *July* at *Nimeguen*, with his Majesty's Commands to Sir *William*, to repair immediately over in a Yatch, which his Majesty had sent on purpose for him. In obedience to this Command, Sir *William* left *Nimeguen*, but without any Ceremony, pretending only a sudden Journey to *England*, about private Affairs. At his Arrival, the King ask'd him several Questions about the Congress; making merry with his Ministers there, for spending him so much Mony, to so little purpose; and about Sir *Lionel Jenkins*, asking Sir *William*, *How he had bred him? How he pass'd among the Ambassadors there?* and other

* Ubi supra, p. 272. & seq.

Pleasantries upon that Subject. After this kind of Discourse, the King told him, 'He knew upon what account he had sent for him over: that 'twas what he had long intended; and he was not to thank him, because he did not know any body else to bring into that place.' Sir William told his Majesty, *That was too great a Compliment for him, but was a very sorry one to his Country, and which he thought it did not deserve. That he believ'd there were a great many in it fit for that, or any other Place his Majesty had to give; and he could name two in a Breath, that he would undertake should make better Secretaries of State than himself.* To this the King said, with his usual pleasant Humour, and familiar way; *Go, get you gone to Sheen, we shall have no good of you till you have been there; and when you have rested your self, come up again.*

Sir William staid two days at Sheen, in which time some of Mr. Secretary Coventry's Friends had prevail'd with him not to part with his Place, if he could help it, unless the King would let him recommend the Person to succeed him; who should pay all the Mony he expected, and which the King had charg'd himself with. The King told Sir William, in his Closet, what had pass'd between his Majesty and Mr. Coventry the Day before, upon this Occasion; adding, *He was resolv'd to take him at his Word, and so he had told him, and left him to digest it as he could.* Upon this Sir William represented to the King, 'How old and true a Servant Mr. Coventry had been of his Father's and his; how well he had served his Majesty in this Place; how well he was able to do it still, by the great Credit he had in the House of Commons; how ill such a Treatment would agree with his Majesty's Nature and Customs: And, for his own part, that it would be a great Favour to him to respite this Change, till his Majesty saw what was like to become of
the

‘ the Treaty, or the War; and therefore he begg’d
 ‘ of his Majesty, that he would not force a good
 ‘ Secretary out, and, perhaps, an ill one in, against
 ‘ both their Wills; but let Mr. Coventry keep it,
 ‘ at least, till he seem’d more willing to part with
 ‘ him.’ Well then, said the King, *I will let it alone*
for the present, but don’t doubt, in a little time, one or
other of us will change our mind.

When, at other times, Sir William came to Court,
 the King fell often into Conversation with him,
 and often in his Closet alone, or with none other
 present besides the Duke of York or the Lord Treas-
 urer. The Subjects of these Conversations were
 usually the Peace, and the Prince of Orange’s Jour-
 ney into England. The King always express’d a
 great Desire for the first, but not at all for the other,
 till that was concluded. He said, *His Parliament*
would never be quiet, nor easy to him, while the War
lasted Abroad. That they had got it into their Heads
to draw him into it, whether he would or no. That
they pretended publick Ends, and Dangers from France;
and there might be both meant, by a great many honest
Men amongst them: but the Heats had been rais’d by
some factious Leaders, who thought more of themselves
than of any thing else; and had a mind to engage him
in a War, and then leave him in it, unless they might
have their Terms in removing and filling up Places:
And he was very loth to be so much at their Mercy.
That besides, he saw, the longer it continu’d, the worse it
would be for the Confederates; and therefore he would
fain have the Prince make the Peace for them, if they
would not do it for themselves. That if he and the
Prince could fall into the Terms of it, he was sure it
might be done: And after several Conversations
upon this Subject, the King told Sir William, He
had a great mind that he should try if he could per-
suade him to it. The Duke and my Lord Treasurer
both press’d Sir William upon the same Point; but
 he

he represented to them, 'How often he had been
 'employ'd upon this Errand to the Prince; how
 'unmovable he had found him, and how sure he
 'was to find him so still, unless the King would
 'consider of another Scheme for the *Peace*. That
 'his Majesty would do well to try another Hand;
 'and he would the better know the Prince's Mind,
 'if his Answers were the same to both.' The King
 said, it was an *Affair of Confidence* between him and
 the Prince, and must be so treated; and he knew no
 Body he had besides to send. Sir William told the
 King, if he pleas'd, he would name one. His Ma-
 jesty bid him, and he nam'd Mr. *Hyde*; whose
 Choice was approv'd by the Duke of *York*, the
 Lord Treasurer, and the King himself. Mr. *Hyde*
 was dispatch'd away accordingly, and attended the
 Prince at the Camp; but found his Highness firm
 and resolute in the Business of the Peace, upon the
 Terms he had propos'd to Sir William Temple: Of
 which he gave an account, both to the King and
 Sir William; and then went to reside at *Nimeguen*,
 as one of the Ambassadors Mediators. This was
 no small Comfort to Sir *Lionel*, who was in perpe-
 tual Agonies after he was left alone in that Station.

The Campaign being ended, the Prince of *Orange*
 return'd to the *Hague*, accompany'd by the Lord
Offory, Don *Carlos*, the Duke of *Albemarle*, and several
 other Persons of Quality; and about the middle of
October, at the pressing Instances of his Friends,
 rather than upon the faint Invitation of K. *Charles II.*
 embark'd for *England*, with a noble Retinue, and
 magnificent Equipage. His Highness, like an eager
 Lover, went Post from *Harwich* * to *Newmarket*,
 where the Court then was, at a Season and Place of
 Country-Sports. The Lord *Arlington* receiv'd the

* Where he landed, October 19. N. S.

Prince *, at his alighting, making his Pretence of the chief Confidence with him. The Lord Treasurer and Sir *William Temple*, went together to attend him; and he whisper'd to them both together, saying to Sir *William*, *That he must desire him to answer for him and the Lord Treasurer one to another; so as they might, from that time, enter both into Business and Conversation, as if they had been of a longer Acquaintance.* This was a wise strain of Policy, considering the Lord *Danby's* Interest in the Court at that time, and prov'd of great use to the Prince, in the Course of his Affairs then in *England*: And tho it much displeas'd the Lord *Arlington* and his Friends, yet it could not be wondred at by such as knew what had past between the Prince and him. His Highness was very kindly receiv'd by the King and the Duke of *York*, who both invited him often into Discourses of Business, which they were surpriz'd to see him decline so industriously, so as the King order'd Sir *William Temple* to find out the reason of it. His Highness told Sir *William*, he was resolv'd to see the young Princess, before he enter'd upon any Conferences about the Peace or War. The King laugh'd at this nice Piece of Gallantry; but, however, to humour his Highness in it, he left *Newmarket* some Days sooner than he had intended.

The Prince, upon his Arrival at *London*, and sight of the Lady *Mary*, was so charm'd with her Person, and all those signs of such a Humour as had been describ'd to him upon his former Enquiries, that he immediately made his Suit to the King and the Duke of *York*. His Royal Highness was extreme cold upon the Proposal, which was very well receiv'd and assented to by his Majesty; but with this Condition, That the Terms of a Peace abroad might

* Sir W. Temple's *Memoirs*, Part II. p. 292. & seq.

be first agreed between them. The Prince excus'd himself, and said, *He must end his first Business, before he began the other.* The King and Duke were both positive in their Opinion, and the Prince resolute in his; and said at last, *That his Allies, who were like to have hard Terms of the Peace, as things then stood, would be apt to believe that he had made this Match at their Expence; and for his part, he would never sell his Honour for a Wife.* Nevertheless, the King remain'd so firm for three or four Days, that the whole Business was like to break upon this Punctilio. About that time, Sir William Temple went to the Prince after Supper, and found him in very ill Humour. His Highness told him, *He repented he ever came into England, and was resolv'd to stay but two Days longer, if the King continu'd in his Mind, for treating upon the Peace before he was married; but that before he went, he must chuse how they should live hereafter; for he was sure it must be either like the greatest Friends, or the greatest Enemies: and desir'd Sir William to let his Majesty know so next Morning, and give him an Account of what he should say upon it.* Accordingly, Sir William Temple told the King all the Prince had said to him the Night before, and represented to his Majesty the ill Consequence of a Breach between them, considering the ill Humour of so many of his Subjects upon his late Measures with France, and the Involutions made his Highness by several of them, during the late War. The King heard Sir William with great Attention, and then said, *Well, I never yet was deceiv'd in judging of a Man's Honesty by his Looks; and if I am not deceiv'd in the Prince's Face, he is the honestest Man in the World, and I will trust him, and he shall have his Wife, and you shall go immediately and tell my Brother so; and that 'tis a thing I am resolv'd on.* Sir William Temple did so; and tho the Duke, at first, seem'd a little surpriz'd,

priz'd, yet he said, *The King should be obey'd, and he would be glad all his Subjects would learn of him, to obey him.* From the Duke of York, Sir William Temple went to the Prince of Orange; who was so transported with this unexpected News, that embracing him, he told him, *He had made him the happiest Man in the World.* Immediately after, Sir William gave an Account of what had pass'd to the Lord Treasurer; who took upon him to adjust all the rest between the King, the Duke, and the Prince: And indeed he conquer'd, so effectually, the Duke's Unwillingness, by an Enlargement of his Revenue, settled upon the Post-Office, that the Match was declar'd that Evening at the Committee, (before any other in Court knew any thing of it) and next Day * in Council; and receiv'd there, and every where else in the Kingdom, with *universal Joy.* The French Ambassador, and the Lord Arlington, appear'd the only two Persons unsatisfy'd upon it at Court; the first not knowing how to answer it to his Master, that an Affair of that Importance should be transacted without his Advice, or, indeed, so much as his Knowledg, in a Court where nothing before had been done so, for many Years: and the Lord Arlington, that it should pass without his Communication, who first endeavour'd to keep up the Court in the Belief of his Confidence with the Prince.

The Prince of Orange immediately dispatch'd away an Express to the States, to acquaint them with what had pass'd, expecting their Approbation of the Match with all speed; that he might the sooner repair to them, for the Service of their Country. Thereupon the States-General assembled, and having maturely weigh'd the Advantages which might accrue to their State by this Marriage; as for Instance, a Confirmation of the

* November 1, N. S.

UNION between *England* and *Holland*, the Establishment and Illustration of the House of *Orange*, and the Conclusion of the Peace so earnestly desir'd; over and above, the happy Choice his Highness had made of a Princess, every way accomplish'd; express'd their Approbation by a *publick Edit*, in Terms full of Joy and Satisfaction: declaring moreover, the mighty Esteem they had for so glorious an Alliance, and their sincere and firm Resolution, to cultivate the antient Friendship and good Correspondence, which was between his *Britannick Majesty* and them.

This Answer arriving at *London* on his Highness's Birth-Day, the Marriage was celebrated at Eleven at Night; but with so little Noise, that the People knew nothing of it till the next Morning, when they gave all publick Demonstrations of their Joy: and immediately after, the King, Duke, and Prince, fell into the Debates about the Terms of the Peace; to which, as to that of the Match, none but the Lord Treasurer and Sir *William Temple* were admitted. *The Prince insisted hard upon the Strength and Inlargement of a FRONTIER, or in the modern Phraſe, a BARRIER, on both sides of Flanders; without which, France, he said, would END THIS WAR WITH THE PROSPECT OF BEGINNING ANOTHER with more Advantage and Surprize, AFTER THE BREAKING THE PRESENT CONFEDERACY. That their Ambition would never end till they had all Flanders and Germany, to the Rhine, and thereby Holland in an absolute Dependence upon them; which would leave them in an ill Condition, and England in no good one: And that Christendom could not be safe without such a Frontier as he propos'd in Flanders; and the Restitution of Lorrain, as well as what the Emperor had lost in Alsace.* The King was content to leave that Business a little loose, upon the Confidence (and Pretence

Pretence made use of late, on the same occasion) that France was SO WEARY OF THIS WAR, that if they could get out of it with Honour, they would never begin another in this Reign. That the King of France grew past his Youth, and Lazy, and would turn to the Pleasures of the Court, and Building, and leave his Neighbours in quiet. Upon this, Sir William Temple, with great Wisdom, told the King, That in the Course of his Experience in the World, he had never observ'd Men's Natures to alter by Age or Fortune; but that a good Boy made a good Man; a young Coxcomb an old Fool, and a young Fripon an old Knave. And that quiet Spirits were so, young as well as old; and unquiet ones would be so, old as well as young. That he believ'd the King of France would always have some Bent or other, sometimes War, sometimes Love, sometimes Building: but that he was of the Prince's Opinion, that HE WOULD NEVER MAKE PEACE BUT WITH A DESIGN OF A NEW WAR, after he had fix'd his Conquest by the last: In which Opinion his Majesty seem'd to concur. The Points of Lorrain and Alsace were readily agreed to by the King and the Duke of York; but they would not hear of the County of Burgundy, as what France would never part with, tho the Prince insisted much upon it: so as the King thought his Highness was touch'd by the Interest of his own Territories there; and thereupon told him, That for his Lands, he would charge himself with either his enjoying them as safely under France as Spain; or if he was rather willing to part with them, than have that Dependence, he would undertake to get him what Price he should himself value them at. But he answer'd generously, That he should not trouble himself, nor the Peace, about that matter; and that he would be content to lose all his Lands, to get one good Town more for the Spaniards upon the Frontier of Flanders. So that the Difficulties seem'd to center in what was thought neces-

†

sary

fary on that side. This occasion'd great Debates between the King and the Prince; one pretending *France* would never agree to one Scheme, and the other, that *Spain* would never consent to the other. Upon the whole matter, it was resolv'd that the Peace should be made upon these Terms: *All* to be restor'd by *France* to the *Empire and Emperor*, that had been taken in the War; the Dutchy of *Lorraine* to that Duke; and all on both sides between *France* and *Holland*; and to *Spain* the Towns of *Aeth*, *Charleroy*, *Oudenarde*, *Courtray*, *Tournay*, *Condé*, *Valenciennes*, *St. Guillain*, and *Binch*; that the Prince should endeavour to procure the Consent of *Spain*, and his *Britannick* Majesty that of *France*. To this purpose, his Majesty was to send a Person immediately over with the Proposition; who should be instructed to enter into no other Reasonings upon it, but demand a positive Answer in two Days, and then forthwith return. The Question was, who should go? And the Lord Treasurer saying, *It must be either himself or Sir William*; for none else had been acquainted with the Debate of this Business: The Prince said, It must be *Sir William*, for the Lord Treasurer could not be spar'd. To which his Majesty readily agreed, and order'd *Sir William* to be ready in two Days. The Evening before he was to go, his Majesty told him, He had reflected on his Journey and his Errand, and how unwelcome * he should be in *France*, as well as his Message; and therefore he had been thinking of sending another Person. *Sir William* told the

* *Sir William Temple*, in a Letter to his Father, (Vol. III. p. 347.) has these words: 'I never undertook any Journey more unwillingly, knowing in what Opinion I stand already at that Court: How deeply they resent the Prince's Match, without their Communication; and with how little Reason I can hope to be the welcomer for this Errand.'

King, *He never had less Mind to any Journey in his Life; and that he would do him the greatest Pleasure in the World to send another.* Thereupon the King ask'd him, what he thought of the Lord * *Duras*? Sir William said, *Very well*: upon which his Majesty seem'd to resolve it, tho the thing had been already agreed in the Morning, upon the Duke of *Tork's* Desire; who either thought *France* would accept the Terms, and so his Royal Highness had a mind to have the Honour of the Peace, by sending a Servant of his own; or, as some suspected, design'd to favour the *French* Interest: This last Opinion seem'd to be confirm'd by the Success of the Lord *Duras's* Embassy; who, after the Delivery of his Message, was prevail'd with to stay longer than his time: and, after all, came away without any positive Answer; whereby the Business came to be drawn out into so many Messages and Returns from *France*, that it dwindled into nothing.

On the 21st of *November*, the Prince and Princess embark'd for *Holland*, where Affairs press'd his Return, beyond the hopes of my Lord *Duras* from *France*. The King assur'd his Highness, he would never part from the least Point of the *Scheme* sent over, and would enter into the War against *France*, if they refus'd it. But nevertheless his Highness went away with the Mortification, to see the PARLIAMENT PROROGU'D to the next Spring, which the *French* Ambassador had gain'd of the King, TO KEEP UP THE CREDIT OF FRANCE after the Prince's Marriage, and before the Dispatch of the Project of Peace to that Court. However, the ILL HUMOUR OF THE PEOPLE growing higher, upon the † NOISE OF A PEACE NEGOTIATED IN FRANCE; this was, by a Pro-

* *The late Earl of Feverham.*

† *Sir W. Temple's Memoirs, Part II. p. 303.*

clamation;

clamation, *anticipated*, soon after the Lord *Duras's* return; tho a thing something unusual, and a shew made, as if the King design'd to enter into the War: for which the Parliament seem'd impatient, whenever the King seem'd averse to it; but grew jealous (and not without just ground) of some TRICKS and PREVARICATIONS, whenever the Court seem'd inclin'd to it.

About the end of *December* 1677, the King sent for Sir *William Temple* to the foreign Committee; and told him, He could get no *positive Answer* from *France*, and therefore resolv'd to send him into *Holland*, to make a League there with the States, for forcing both *France* and *Spain*, if either refus'd to make the Peace upon the Terms his Majesty had propos'd. Sir *William* told the King, *What he had agreed, was to enter into the War with all the Confederates, in case of no direct and immediate Answer from France. That this, perhaps, would satisfy both the Prince and Confederates Abroad, and the People at Home. But to make such a League with Holland only, would satisfy none of them, and disoblige both France and Spain. Besides, it would not have so great an Effect or Force as the TRIPLE-ALLIANCE had; being a great Original, of which this seem'd but an ill Copy: And therefore Sir William excus'd himself from going. The King was set upon it, tho Sir William pretended Domestick Affairs of great Importance, upon the Death of his Father; and pleaded so hard, that the Duke, at last, desir'd the King not to press Sir William upon a thing he was so averse from, and would be so inconvenient to him; and desir'd only Sir William might propose who should be sent with the Treaty. Sir William made his acknowledgment to the Duke, and propos'd, that Mr. *Thinn* should be sent from the Office, with a Draught of the Treaty, to Mr. *Hyde*, who was then come from *Nimeguen* to the *Hague*, upon a Visit to the Princess.*

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Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE Bar. 289

There were TWO RULING BURGOMASTERS at AMSTERDAM at this time, who had the whole Sway of that Town, HOEFF and VALKENIER: the first (a great Intimate of Sir *William Temple*) a generous honest Man, of great Patrimonial Riches, Learning, Wit, and Humour, without Ambition; the other a morose and formal Man, but of great Industry, much Thought and AVARICE; and making the Turns easy that were necessary in the Government, to carry his Ends. These two had long been Enemies, and thought irreconcilable, till the FRENCH EMISSARIES, at this time, with great *Art and Industry*, made up the Quarrel, and JOINED THEM BOTH IN THE DESIGN OF MAKING THE PEACE, upon the Terms offer'd by *France*. A Precedent which was afterwards follow'd in the same Town.

The News of the Prince's Marriage having reach'd *Nimeguen*, gave the Confederates great Hopes that the King of *England* would now declare in their favour. But it had quite another effect in *Holland*, particularly in *Amsterdam*, where the *French EMISSARIES* found means to raise Jealousies of the Measures concerted between the King and Prince upon this new Alliance, as dangerous to the Liberty of their Country; and to make it believ'd, that by this Match the King and the Duke had wholly brought over the Prince to their Interest and Sentiments: whereas, indeed, the Prince went away possess'd, of having drawn them into his; tho' *they were equally mistaken*. But how different soever their Apprehensions abroad might be of things, King *Charles* wav'd his Engagements to the Prince, of entering into the War with all the Allies, in case of no direct and immediate Answer from the King of *France*, upon the Terms of the Peace; and contented himself to send Mr. *Thinn* over into *Holland*, with the before-mention'd Draught of an Alliance

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to be made with the States, in order to force *France* and *Spain* into the Compliance of the Scheme agreed on; and to consign the same into the Hands of Mr. *Hyde*, then at the *Hague*. Accordingly the Treaty was sign'd on the 16th of *January*, tho not without great Difficulties, and much Dissatisfaction on the part of the Prince of *Orange*, who was yet cover'd in it by the private Consent of the *Spanish* Minister there, in behalf of his Master; so that the War could not break out but upon *France*, in case of their refusal. This Alliance being thus concluded, the King of *England* dispatch'd Mr. (the late Duke of) *Montague*, into *France*, to press that Monarch to accept his Terms; and, at the same time, gave out Commissions for raising an Army: But nevertheless, the *French* King rejected these Conditions of Peace, and made great Preparations to open the Campaign earlier than ordinary. Thereupon his *Britannick* Majesty recall'd the Troops he had in the Service of *France*: And having summon'd his Parliament, communicated * to them the late Alliance he had made with *Holland*, for the publick Benefit and Repose of Christendom; and ask'd them Mony upon it, for putting himself in a Posture to carry on the War, if the Peace fail'd. The House of Commons, in an Address for that purpose, 're-
' turn'd his Majesty thanks for the great Care he
' took of the Protestant Religion, in marrying his
' Niece to a Protestant Prince; beseeching him, not
' to consent to any Conditions of Peace with *France*,
' whereby the *French* King should be left in Posses-
' sion of any greater Power or Dominion, than was
' left him by the *Pyrenean* Treaty.' Tho the King look'd on the latter part of this Address, as an Invasion of his Prerogative; yet he took no notice of it: and thereupon the Commons, after a long

* January 28. 1677. O. S.

Debate, resolv'd to fit out a great Fleet, and to raise an Army of thirty Thousand Men; and appointed Commissioners to compute the Charge. The Constitution of this Parliament, that had lasted seventeen Years, was grown into two *known Factions*, that of *Court* and *Country*. The *Court-Party* were grown numerous, by a PRACTICE INTRODUC'D BY MY LORD CLIFFORD, OF DOWNRIGHT BUYING OFF ONE MAN AFTER ANOTHER, as they could make the Bargain. The *Country-Party* was something greater yet in number, and kept IN MORE CREDIT UPON THE CORRUPTION OF OTHERS, and THEIR OWN STEDDINESS TO THE TRUE INTERESTS OF THE NATION, especially in the *Points of FRANCE and POPERY*. Where *these came in question*, many of the *Court-Party* voted with those of the *Country*, who then carry'd all before them; and (which amounts to the same thing) whenever the Court seem'd to fall in with the *true Interests of the Nation*, especially in those two Points, then many of the *Country-Party*, meaning fairly, fell in with the *Court*, and carry'd the Votes: as they did upon the King's Pretence, to grow bold with *France*, and to resolve upon the War, if the Peace were refus'd.

In the mean time, as an ill-grounded Suspicion in *Holland*, of the Prince's Conduct and ambitious Designs, since his Marriage, made them uneasy among themselves, and daily more and more inclin'd them to a Peace; so, on the other hand, the News they receiv'd at this time, of the *French* taking from them the Island of *Tobago*, besides the Death of *Binks*, Admiral of *Zealand*, and the utter Ruin of that Colony, did no less sensibly affect them. But what was a more formidable Blow than all the rest, was the vast Progress of the *French* Army this Spring in the *Spanish Netherlands*. For towards the end of *February*, his most Christian Majesty

marching at the head of his Forces, and carrying the Queen and the Ladies to *Mentz*, seem'd to have a Design either on *Luxemburgh*, *Namur*, or *Mons*: but having drawn the *Spaniards* that way, all on a sudden, and to the no less surprize of the *French* themselves, than of the Allies, he cross'd the Countries, sat down before *Ghent*; and notwithstanding the Difficulties occasion'd by the Season, and the Besieg'd drowning part of the Country, made himself Master both of that Town, and soon after of *Ypres*; and thereby gave a mighty Alarm to *Holland*, and strenghten'd the Credit and Endeavours of those he had already dispos'd to his Conditions of a Peace, as grown now absolutely necessary, while *England* amus'd the People with a seeming Resolution to enter into the War, or at least furnish'd the Confederates with many such Hopes. After the taking of these two Places, the King of *France* dispos'd his Armies into Quarters of Refreshment; whether he thought them sufficiently harass'd, or whether he was afraid of the *English*, who, at the Desire of the *Spanish* Ambassador, had sent over considerable Forces, under the Command of the Duke of *Monmouth*, to secure the important Town of *Ostend*, which the *French* seem'd to threaten. Not long after, the World was astonish'd to hear, that the *French* King had entirely abandon'd *Messina* and all *Sicily*. Some ascrib'd it to mere Necessity, and others to a Design of pursuing the Conquest of *Flanders* with redoubled Vigour and Application. However it was, the Parliament of *England* were of this last Opinion; and therefore to stop his Career, they petition'd the King to declare open War against him, and granted his Majesty a Poll-Bill; prohibiting, by the same Act, the Importation of all *French* Commodities. King *Charles*, who was now desirous to enter into a League with the *Empire*, *Spain*, and the *United Provinces*, would oblige them

them to make the same Prohibition, in relation to *French Goods*: But while the *Hollanders* were demurring upon the last Point, believing that such a Prohibition would ruin their Trade, an unexpected Accident fell out, that chang'd the whole Scene of Affairs.

About the beginning of *April*, the King of *France* seeing his *Britannick* Majesty so warmly press'd by his Parliament, to enter into the War, made * a publick Declaration of the Terms, upon which he was resolv'd to make a Peace: which tho very different from those agreed between his Majesty and *Holland*, and more from the Pretensions of the Allies; yet having, as to what concern'd *Spain* and *Holland*, been first privately agreed with some Leaders of the principal Towns, prov'd indeed the PLAN of the Peace, both for *Holland*, and all the other Confederates. And here the *French* began that *Imperious way of Treating*, which they afterwards pursu'd in the whole Negotiation of the ensuing Peace; peremptorily declaring, such and such were the Conditions they would admit, and no other; and to which *France* pretended to be tied no longer than to the Tenth of *May*. However, they thought fit to secure England by Bribes.

Sir William Temple happen'd, at this Juncture, to be with the Lord Treasurer one Evening, when he receiv'd a Packet from Mr. *Montague*, Ambassador at *Paris*; giving him an account of a large Conversation Monsieur de *Louvois* had lately with him, by the *French* King's Orders: Wherein he represented, The Measures they had already taken for a Peace in *Holland*, upon the *French* Terms. That since they were agreed there, they hop'd his Majesty would not be against it. That, however, his Master had order'd him to make his Majesty the Offer of a great Sum of Money

* April 9.

for his Consent, tho to a thing already accepted by Holland, and wherein his Majesty was consequently not concern'd. That Monsieur Louvois desir'd the Ambassador to write this immediately to the Lord Treasurer, and to offer him a very considerable Sum for himself, that should be sent over in Mony, Jewels, or Bills, as he should chuse. And Mr. Montague added, That it was desir'd this Affair should be treated only between them two, and not communicated to either of the Secretaries of State. The Treasurer having read the Letter to Sir William, Well, my Lord, said the latter, what do you say to the Offer? To which his Lordship answer'd, That he thought 'twas the same thing, as if it should be propos'd to the King, to have Windsor put into the French Hands; and so he should treat it: and that we had nothing to do, but to go on with our Treaty with the Confederates. This his Lordship and Sir William Temple were charg'd with, and had brought near a Conclusion; when Letters came from Mr. Hyde, with Representations made him from the Pensionary, of the violent Dispositions in Holland towards a Peace; and the absolute Necessity he thought there was, of concluding it, upon the taking of Ghent, and Danger of Antwerp, which was then threatned.

About this time, the French Ambassador in London, began to change his Language: for whereas he ever before pretended, That his Majesty should be always the Arbiter of the PEACE, being now assur'd that his Master had agreed with Holland, he seem'd to wonder and expostulate, Why the King should pretend to obtain better Terms for the Spaniards, than their Allies, the Dutch, were content with. Hereupon Sir William Temple was again press'd by the King and Lord Treasurer, to go into Holland, to know their final Resolutions, whether they would yet carry on the War, in case his Majesty should go into it? But Sir William still excus'd himself, knowing the

the Dutch were too much press'd, by so near Approaches of *France*, to declare themselves upon a Reserve of the King's; and said, *If his Majesty resolv'd to go that way, he must first take his Measures with his Parliament for the War, and then send them word in Holland, he was ready to declare it, in case they would pursue it: And upon this Measure, Sir William said, he knew the Dutch so well, as to believe they would do it, and keep close to their late Alliance with his Majesty.* This the King was unwilling to do; but however, for Form sake, dispatch'd Mr. *Godolphin* again into *Holland*, about the middle of *April*, and prorogu'd the Parliament for fourteen Days.

On the 20th of *April*, the Lord Treasurer went to Sir *William*, and assur'd him of the King's Resolution being at length fix'd to go into the War; and desir'd him to prepare what his Majesty should say to the Parliament upon this occasion. Sir *William* did so: But when he carry'd it to my Lord Treasurer, he met there Letters from Mr. *Hyde* and Mr. *Godolphin*, that *Holland* absolutely desir'd the Peace upon the Terms propos'd by *France*; and had resolv'd to send Monsieur *Van Lewen* over to *England*, to dispose the King to be contented with them. He arriv'd, and the King sent Sir *William Temple* immediately to know his Errand. He was the chief of the Town of *Leyden*, and had join'd with *Amsterdam*, *Harlem*, and some others, in promoting the Peace. But being a Man of great Honour and Worth, and having done it upon the too-well-grounded-suspicion, that *England* was still, at Bottom, in with *France*, and that all the rest was but Grimace; the Prince of *Orange* had procur'd him to be sent over, on purpose to satisfy himself, (and thereby his Complices for the Peace) that the King's Intentions were determin'd to enter into the War, which his Highness rightly judg'd to be the only means

means to prevent the Peace. When Sir William came to Monsieur Van Lewen, the latter told him freely, ' That it was the most against their Hearts in Holland that could be, to make a P E A C E upon Terms so low and unsafe for Flanders: and that if the King had gone into the War, as was promis'd, upon France delaying, or refusing to accept his Scheme, they would certainly have continu'd it; but his Majesty's Proceedings look'd, ever since, so uncertain and unresolv'd, that it had rais'd Jealousies in Holland, of the English Measures being, at bottom, fix'd and close with France: which made most of the Towns in Holland think, they had nothing else to do, but to go in with them too, as fast as they could; and the approach of the French Army to Antwerp, left them now no time to deliberate: Yet he profess'd to Sir William, in private, that if the King would immediately declare the War, he believ'd the States would still go on with it, in pursuit of their Alliance.' Sir William made his Report to the King, who seem'd positive to declare the War, in case the Parliament advis'd him, and promis'd to support it; when an unlucky Vote, mov'd by Sir T—C—, in spite to my Lord Treasurer, pass'd the House of Commons, That no Money should be given, till Satisfaction was receiv'd in Matters of Religion. This left all so loose and lame, that the King was in a Rage; reproach'd Sir William Temple with Popular Notions; and ask'd him, When, or how he thought he could trust the House of Commons to carry him thro the War, if he should engage in it? Sir William had not much to say, considering the Temper and Suspicions of the House; nor could he well clear it to himself, Whether the King was firmly resolv'd to enter into the War? 'Tis certain, this Vote created such a fatal and mutual Distrust, both in the Court and Parliament, as it was very hard to fall into any

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found Measures between them. The King, at least, now saw he had lost his time of entring into the War, if he had a mind to it; and that he ought to have done it, upon my Lord *Duras's* return, with the whole Confederacy. In relation to this, the Earl of *Essex* told Sir *William Temple*, *He had been a Prophet, in refusing to go to Holland to make that Alliance; which had, as Sir William said, pleas'd none at Home or Abroad, and had now lost our Measures in Holland, and turn'd them upon France.*

But the witty Turn King *Charles* gave all this, was, That since the Dutch would have a Peace upon the French Terms, and France offer'd Money for his Consent, to what he could not help; he did not know, why he should not get the Money? And thereupon order'd Sir *William Temple* to treat upon it with the French Ambassador, who had Orders for that purpose. Sir *William* would have excus'd himself, but the King said, *He could not help seeing the Ambassador, for he would be with him at his House, by Seven next Morning.* He came accordingly; and Sir *William* told him very truly, *He had been ill in the Night, and could not enter into any Business.* The Ambassador was much disappointed, and press'd Sir *William* all he could; but he declin'd it upon his Illness: so that at length the Ambassador left him, without entring upon any thing. When Sir *William* got up, he went immediately to *Sheen*, and, by his Wife, sent the following Letter * to my Lord Treasurer:

MY LORD,

FINDING my self something recover'd of my Illness, which hinder'd me from waiting upon your Lordship before I left the Town, I could not but let you know how very sensible I was of what you last told

* Dated, Sheen, May 1678. See Sir W. Temple's Letters, Vol. III. p. 351.

me with so much Kindness, about his Majesty and Royal Highness having been so much displeas'd with some of my late Discourses to his Majesty ; tho your Lordship could not tell me more of them, than that they were some Popular Notions : As likewise the great Dissatisfaction his Majesty would receive at the Difficulties I made, to enter into an Affair which belong'd not at all to my Post, and wherein his Majesty had not done me the Honour, to acquaint me with the Deliberation or Digestion of it. I must confess, the Sense of his Majesty's Displeasure (which I never deserv'd) has been so great a Mortification to me ; that to shew how much I have ever been concern'd in his Majesty's Service and Satisfaction, and how little in any Advantages of my own, I have resolv'd most humbly to lay at his Majesty's Feet, not only my two present Embassies, but also the Promise of the Secretary's Place ; which his Majesty was pleas'd, long since, to make me so graciously, and of his Motion. Therefore whenever his Majesty pleases to order me a Letter of Revocation to the States-General (which I shall send over to my Secretary at the Hague) and give me leave to send for both my Families away from the Hague and Nimeguen : I shall, upon it, come and beg the Honour of kissing his Majesty's Hand, and make him my humble Acknowledgments for the undeserved Honours he has done me, by so many and so great Employments Abroad, as well as by designing me so much a greater at Home. I shall, at the same time, assure his Majesty of my Resolutions, to pass the rest of my Life in the constant and hearty Wishes, and Prayers, for the Honour and Safety of his Majesty, and his Kingdoms ; and, that how mean a Servant soever I have been, he shall find me as good a Subject as any Man alive, &c.

Upon the Receipt of this Letter, my Lord Treasurer sent Sir William word, The King forc'd no Man upon what he had no mind to ; but if Sir William
 resolv'd

resolv'd this should be said to him, he must do it himself, or by some other; for he would not make his Court so ill, as to say it for Sir William. And so that matter rested; and Sir William continu'd at Sheen, without stirring till the King sent for him.

In the mean time, from the beginning of May the ill Humour of the House of Commons began to break out by several Discourses and Votes against the Ministers; which encreas'd the ill Opinion his Majesty had conceiv'd of their Intentions, in pressing him to enter upon a War. Yet notwithstanding all this, he had conceiv'd such an Indignation at one Article of the *private Treaty* propos'd by Monsieur Barillon, that he said, He would never forget it while he liv'd. Sir William, who tells us * he had this from a good Hand, leaves us, however, in the Dark as to that *secret Article*: But the Publisher of his Letters, Dr. Jonathan Swift, acquaints † us with that remarkable Passage, viz. 'That France, 'in order to break the Force of the Confederacy, 'and elude all just Conditions of a General Peace, 'resolv'd, by any means, to enter into Separate 'Measures with Holland; to which end it was absolutely necessary to engage the good Offices of 'the King of England, who was look'd upon as the 'Master of the Peace, whenever he pleas'd. The 'Bargain was struck for either three or four Hundred Thousand Pounds: But when all was agreed, 'Monsieur Barillon, the French Ambassador, told 'the King, That he had Orders from his Master, 'before Payment, to add a private Article; by 'which his Majesty should be engag'd, never to keep 'above eight Thousand Men of standing Troops in his 'three Kingdoms. This unexpected Proposal put 'the King in a Rage, and made him say, *Cod's-Fish!*

* See his *Memoirs*, Part II. p. 321.

† Sir W. Temple's *Letters*, Vol. III. p. 335.

' does my Brother of France think to serve me thus ?

' Are all his Promises to make me absolute Master

' of my ——— come to this ? Or does he think

' That a thing to be done with eight Thousand Men ?

Tho the King said nothing to Sir William Temple of his Resentment, yet he observ'd his Majesty to be, at this time, more resolv'd to enter into the War, than he had ever before seen, or thought him.

The Marquis de Ruigny's Son *, who was dispatch'd into France, to know the last Intentions of that Court, upon the Terms of the Peace propos'd by his Majesty, being return'd without any clear or positive Answer ; the King went on to compleat his Levies, and to prepare for the War. But on the 11th of May, the Commons pass'd another Negative, upon the Debate of Mony ; which so offended the King, that he prorogu'd them for ten Days. Monsieur Van Lewen distasted with these Delays, and the Counterpaces between King and Parliament, began to talk freely of the Necessity his Masters found to make the Peace as they could, since there was no relying upon any Measures with England for carrying on the War ; and the Season was too far advanc'd to admit of any longer Delays. Upon these Discourses from him, the King began again to cool his Talk of a War, and to say, *The Peace must be left to the Course which Holland had given it.* And tho on May 23. the Parliament met, and seem'd in much better Temper than they parted, yet News coming about the same time, that Monsieur Beverning was sent by the States to the French Court at Ghent, to propose a Cessation of Arms for six Weeks, in order to negotiate the Terms of the Peace ; both Court and Parliament began to look upon it as a Thing concluded, or at least, as like to receive no other Motion than what should be given it by Holland and France.

* Afterwards Earl of Galway.

Thus *England* was grown pretty indifferent in the Business of the Peace; and the *Spaniards* seem'd to comply with the Necessity of their Affairs. But the *Emperor*, King of *Denmark*, and Elector of *Brandenburgh*, fell into the severest *Expostulations* and *Reproaches* against the States that could be well invented; ripping up all they ventur'd and suffer'd in a War, wherein they had engag'd for the sole Preservation of the *United Provinces*: but that now they were abandon'd by them, under a Pretence of concluding a Peace, and that upon *Imperious and ARBITRARY TERMS*, without their Consent. That they were not backward to treat with *France*, and make a Peace upon any safe and reasonable CONDITIONS, but would never suffer to have them DICTATED, as from an ABSOLUTE CONQUEROR; and would rather venture their last Stake, than tamely submit to them: particularly, to those for the Duke of *Lorrain*, whose Case was the worst treated, tho seemingly the most favour'd by the Allies, and the least disputed by *France*. The States were little mov'd at these verbal Storms, but held on their Course, without regarding the Satisfaction of any other than *Spain*, in what concern'd the BARRIER and SAFETY of *Flanders*; and the Straits of that Crown made them easy, tho otherwise as little pleas'd as any of their Allies. Wherefore, on the 22d of *June*, the States gave order to their Plenipotentiaries at *Nimeguen*, to sign the Peace with *France* before the end of that Month; and, at the same time, acquainted the King of *France* with their Compliance. But notwithstanding this tendency, both in *Spain* and *Holland*, to give the Treaty the finishing stroke, an unexpected Accident fell out, which went near to overturn the whole Fabrick, and renew the War with greater Vigour, and more equal Forces, by engaging *England* in a share of it, in favour of the Allies, which

which they had long been endeavouring, without any Success.

In the Conditions the States had made for the *French* restoring the six *Spanish* Towns in *Flanders*, there was no particular mention made of the time of that Restitution; the *Dutch* and *Spaniards* presuming, that it was to be upon the Ratification of the Treaty with *Spain* and *Holland*, whether any other of the Confederates were included or no: And the Negotiation had been manag'd in that manner, till the very Day before the Peace was to be sign'd; when the Marquis *de los Balbases* having either found, or started some Occasion of enquiring more particularly into the Intentions of *France*, be-thought himself of an Explanation, as to the time of the *Restitution* of the said Places. In order to that, he first went to the *Dutch* Plenipotentiaries, to sound their Opinions upon that Subject; who made answer, That if the *French* pretended to put off the Restitution beyond the Exchange of the Ratifications, it was a thing not meant by them. And thereupon going immediately to the *French* Ambassadors, to give them their Explanations, which they would send to the States-General by an Express, the *French* did not stick to declare, That the King their Master being oblig'd to see an entire Restitution made to the Swedes, of all they had lost in the War, his Majesty would not evacuate the Towns in *Flanders* till those belonging to the Swedes were likewise restor'd; and that the keeping these *Spanish* Towns was the only means to induce the Northern Princes to accept the Peace. The *Dutch* Ministers having receiv'd the States Answer thereupon, did, upon the 25th of June, declare to the *French* Plenipotentiaries, 'That they could not sign the Peace, unless his most Christian Majesty wav'd his Pretensions, and restor'd the *Spanish* Towns upon the Ratification of the Treaty.' On the other hand, the

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Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE Bar. 303

French Ambassadors were firm, and stiffly insisted on the Satisfaction of the Swedes. Upon this strange Procedure of France, the States-General order'd Monsieur Van Lewen to acquaint his Britannick Majesty with it, and to know his Opinion upon a Point of so great Importance. The King made Difficulty at first to believe it; but sending to the French Ambassador at London to know the Truth of it, and finding him own his Master's Intention, not to let go his Hold in Flanders, till the General Peace was concluded, and Sweden satisfy'd, he was both surpriz'd and angry; and next Morning sent for Sir William Temple to the foreign Committee, and there declar'd his Resolution, of sending him immediately into Holland, with Commission to sign a Treaty with the States; by which they should be oblig'd to carry on the War, and his Majesty to enter into it, in case France should not agree to evacuate the Towns within a certain time limited. Upon this occasion, his Royal Highness, the Duke of York, fell into this Counsel with great Warmth, and said at the Committee, *That it was plain by this Proceeding, that France was not sincere in the Business of the Peace; that they aim'd at the UNIVERSAL MONARCHY; and that none but his Majesty could hinder them from it, in the Posture that Christendom stood.* His Majesty took the Pains to press Monsieur Van Lewen to go over with Sir William Temple, to persuade the States of the Sincereness and Constancy of his Resolution, to pursue this Measure with the utmost of his Power: And took upon himself to excuse to the States his Masters, the making this Journey without their Consent. Sir William Temple and Monsieur Van Lewen being arriv'd at the Hague, the Negotiation was immediately set on foot, and in the space of six Days the famous Treaty of Alliance between England and Holland was

was * happily concluded, to the general Satisfaction of the *Hollanders*; who, at the first Conference, made Sir William this Compliment, *That they esteem'd his coming into Holland, like that of the Swallows, which brought fair Weather always with them.* And 'tis observable, that Mr. Godolphin, who had been so lately in *Holland*, told Sir William, before his Departure, *That if he brought the States to the Treaty his Majesty propos'd upon this occasion, he would move the Parliament to have HIS STATUE SET UP.* Among the rest, the Prince of *Orange* receiv'd the *English* Ambassador with the greatest Joy in the World, hoping by his Errand, and the Success of it, either to continue the War, or recover such Conditions of the Peace for the Allies, as had been wrested out of his Hands by Force of a *Faction* begun at *Amsterdam*, and spread since into the rest of the Provinces. And, indeed, it is hardly to be imagin'd, what a new Life this Alliance gave to the Authority and Fortunes of the Prince of *Orange*; who was now acknowledg'd by the States to have made a truer Judgment than they had done, of the Measures they were to expect, both from *France* and *England*: the last having proceeded so resolutely to the Offers of entering into the War, (which was never believ'd in *Holland*) and *France*, after raising so great a Difficulty in the Peace, having pursu'd the War so far as to block up *Mons*, one of the best Frontiers remaining to *Flanders*; which was expected to fall into their hands before the time limited for the Conclusion or Rupture of the Treaty should expire. Hereupon Preparations were made with the greatest Vigour and Diligence, for his Highness's Expedition to relieve that important Place; and about ten Thousand *English*, already arriv'd in *Flanders*, were order'd to march that way,

* July 26. N. S.

and join his Army. The Prince went into the Field with a firm Confidence that the War would certainly go on, and Hopes to engage the *French* Army before the Term for signing the Peace should expire; and so resolv'd to relieve *Mons*, or die in the Attempt.

After the Treaty concluded between *England* and *Holland* had been signify'd to *France*, all the Arts imaginable were practis'd, on that side, to elude it, by drawing the matter into a *Negotiation*, or at least, a greater length, which had succeeded so well in *England*; and to treat upon it first at *St. Quintin*, then at *Ghent*; where the *French* King himself propos'd to meet such Ambassadors as the *Dutch* should send to either of those Towns: But the States were stanch, not to recede from their last Treaty; and continu'd in that Resolution, till about five days before the Expiration of the time limited; when there came one *Du Cros*, a *Swedish* Agent in *England*, with Orders from his *Britannick* Majesty, for Sir William Temple immediately to repair to *Nimeguen*, and there to endeavour to persuade the *Swedish* Plenipotentiaries, to let the *French* there know, That they would, for the Good of Christendom, consent, and even desire the King of France no longer to defer the Evacuation of the Towns; and assure the said *Swedish* Ambassadors, that after this Peace the King of *England* would use all the most effectual Endeavours he could, for the Restitution of all the Towns and Territories that had been taken from the *Swedes* in the War. Sir William Temple was extremely surpriz'd at this Dispatch; but the Pensionary *Fagel* being stunn'd, and, as it were, thunder-struck, went and told his Excellency the whole Contents of it, before Sir William had mention'd it to any Man: And 'That ' *Du Cros* had gone about most industriously, to the ' Deputies of the several Towns, and acquainted ' them with it; and that the Terms of the Peace

‘ were absolutely agreed between the two Kings:
 ‘ That he brought Sir *William Temple* Orders to go
 ‘ strait to *Nimeguen*; and that his Excellency should,
 ‘ at his Arrival there, meet with Letters from my
 ‘ Lord *Sunderland*, the King’s Ambassador at *Paris*,
 ‘ with all the Particulars concluded between their
 ‘ *Britannick* and most Christian Majesties.’ How
 this Dispatch of *Du Cros* was obtain’d, was never
 certainly known: But upon Sir *William*’s Return
 to *England*, the Duke of *York* told him, *That he*
knew nothing of it till it was gone, having been a Hunt-
ing that Morning. The Lord Treasurer endeavour’d
 to excuse himself of it: And the King told him
 pleasantly, *That the Rogue Du Cros had out-witted*
them all. The truth is, these Orders were the Result
 of *French Intrigues* and Management; since they
 were agreed and dispatch’d one Morning, in the
 Dutchess of *Portsmouth*’s Chamber, by the Interven-
 tion of Monsieur *Barillon*, the *French* Ambassador.
 However it was, and what Endeavours soever were
 made immediately after, at the Court of *England*, to
 retrieve that *False Step*, it never could be done: and
 this one Incident chang’d the whole face of *Christen-*
dom. When Sir *William Temple* arriv’d at *Nimeguen*,
 which was but three days before the Expiration
 of the Term fix’d by the late Treaty between the
 King of *England* and the States, either for the *French*
 to evacuate the Towns, or for carrying on the
 War jointly against *France*; there was but little Dis-
 position that the Peace should be sign’d, but rather
 the quite contrary appear’d, by the stiffness shew’d on
 both sides, to adhere firmly to their respective De-
 mands. And the *Dutch* positively maintain’d, that
 there could be no Deputation made either to *St.*
Quintin or *Ghent*, nor any other Expedient for put-
 ting a stop to the Operations of War, besides the
 Assent of *France* to evacuate the Towns.

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The Peace thereupon seem'd desperate, and the more so, because, at the same time, the Duke of *Luxemburgh* press'd *Mons*, the Mareschal *Schonberg* threaten'd *Cologne*; and *Brussels* almost grew uneasy upon the Neighbourhood of the *French* Armies: so that the Allies thought themselves secure of what they had so much and so long desir'd, and aim'd at; which was, a War against *France*, in conjunction with *England*. In the midst of these Views and Dispositions at *Nimeguen*, came the fatal Day, fix'd by the late Treaty at the *Hague*, which must determine whether a sudden Peace, or a long War, were to be reckon'd upon in *Christendom*; when, in the Morning early, Monsieur *Boreel*, who had been sent from *Amsterdam* to the *Dutch* Ambassadors, went to the *French* Plenipotentiaries; and after some Conference with them, these three Ministers went immediately to those of *Holland*, and declar'd to them, they had receiv'd Orders to consent to the Evacuation of the Towns, and thereupon to sign the Peace; but that it must be done that very Morning. At this, the *Dutch* seem'd to be surpriz'd; but, however, they immediately enter'd into a Conference with the rest, which lasted for five Hours, and ended in an Agreement upon all Points, both of Peace and Commerce, between *France* and *Holland*: against which the Ambassadors of *Denmark*, *Brandenburgh*, and *Munster*, gave in a Memorial; alledging, after a long Train of Expostulations, That such a hasty and precipitate Conduct in the *Dutch*, was unworthy of a State that had always govern'd it self with Reason and Justice; and that such an extraordinary Step would be an everlasting Blot upon the Honour and Reputation of the States-General. And concluding, That if, notwithstanding all, they were resolv'd to proceed and enter into a Neutrality, so contrary to their solemn Engagements, they protested against that Separate Treaty, in the best

Form they could; and not only so, but against all the Calamities that Christendom in general, and the Princes their Masters in particular, might suffer by that Separation. But notwithstanding the Reasonableness and Solemnity of this Protestation, and the Irresolution of Monsieur *Van Haren*, one of the Dutch Plenipotentiaries, who did not seem to be so clear in the Point of their Orders: yet Directions were presently given, to have all fair writ over with the greatest haste imaginable, so that the Treaty might be sign'd that Night, (*Aug. 11. N. S.*) This was done accordingly between Eleven and Twelve, without the Intervention of the *English* Mediators; who refus'd to sign the same, or to have their Names mention'd in it, as *Mediators*; saying, *Their Instructions were only to mediate a General Peace, and not a Particular One.*

The Day after the signing of this Peace, came over the Ratifications of the late Treaty between his *Britannick* Majesty and the States; with Orders for Sir *William Temple* to proceed forthwith to the Exchange of them. Upon which, his Excellency immediately repair'd to the *Hague*, and the next day after his Arrival there, made the Exchange accordingly; tho after the *Counter-pace* made by the Dispatch sent by *Du Cros*, and the Consequences of it, the same appear'd now as unnecessary as it had been at first resolv'd at the *English* Court, and unexpected by the *Dutch*; who many of them, now were unsatisfy'd with the Peace, and especially with the Precipitation of Monsieur *Beverning*, in signing it: but the thing was done, and after some Debate, the City of *Amsterdam* declaring their Approbation of it, the rest of the Provinces did soon acquiesce.

Thus by the Address and Skill of the *French* Politicians, the *English* Negotiation ended in Smoke, which was near kindling so great a Fire; the Peace was gain'd with *Holland*; his *Britannick* Majesty was ex-

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cluded from any fair Pretence of entring into the War, after a great Expectation of his People rais'd, and, as they thought, *deluded*; Spain was necessitated to accept the Terms that *Holland* had negotiated for them; and this left the Peace of the *Empire* wholly at the Discretion of France. Which made it appear, both at Home and Abroad, that *French Counsels* had the *Ascendant* at the Court of England.

The Prince of Orange, soon after his return to the *Hague*, went to *Dieren*, to hunt in the *Velawe*, like a Person that had little else to do; and Sir William Temple having occasion, at the same time, to go to *Amsterdam*, his Highness desir'd him to remember him kindly to Monsieur *Hoeft*, the chief Burgomaster there, and tell him, *That he desir'd him to be no longer in his Interest, than he should find his Highness in the true Interest of the States.* The Ambassador having deliver'd his Message accordingly, *Hoeft* very frankly bid him tell the Prince, *He would be just what his Highness desir'd, and be ever firm to his Interests, while he was in those of his Country; but if ever his Highness departed from them, he would be the first Man to oppose him; till then, he would neither censure nor distrust his Conduct: for he knew very well, that without mutual Trust between the Prince and the States, his Country must be ruin'd.* From henceforward to his Death, Monsieur *Hoeft* continu'd in the same Mind, and by his Example, that great and jealous City of *Amsterdam* began to fall into much more Confidence, not only of the Prince, but of his whole Conduct, in the Administration of the Affairs of their State.

About the end of *August*, while Men's minds were busy'd with various Conjectures about the present Posture of Affairs, Mr. *Hyde* was suddenly sent over from *England*, to the surprize of all in *Holland*; and more especially of Sir William Temple, who had not the least Intimation given him, either of

of his Journey or Errand. The Design of this sudden Message, was, *To acquaint the States, how much his Britannick Majesty had been surpriz'd, at the News of their Ambassadors having sign'd a particular Treaty with France, even without the Inclusion of Spain, and without any Guaranty given for the Evacuation of the Towns within the time requisite; To complain of this Precipitation of the States, and, at the same time, of the new Pretensions which France had advanc'd upon the County of Beaumont, and the Town of Bovignes, which had retarded the Peace of Spain. That for these Reasons he understood and believ'd, that the late Treaty of July, between his Majesty and the States, ought to take Effect; the Case being fallen out, against which that was provided, and both Parties being thereby oblig'd to enter jointly into the War against France. That if the States would hereupon refuse to ratify the Treaty their Ministers had sign'd at Nimeguen, his Majesty offer'd to declare War immediately against France, and carry it on in all Points according to the Articles of the said Treaty with the States.*

Mr. Hyde, who, with Sir William Temple, went to Hounslaerdyke, to acquaint the Prince with his Message; was no sooner withdrawn, but his Highness lifting up his Hands two or three times, said, *Was ever any thing so hot and so cold, as this Court of yours? Will the King, that is so often at Sea, never learn a word that I shall never forget since my last Passage, when in a great Storm, the Captain was all Night crying out to the Man at the Helm, Steddy, Steddy, Steddy? If this Dispatch had come twenty Days ago, it had chang'd the Affairs of Christendom, and the War might have been carry'd on, till France had yielded to the Treaty of the Pyrenees, and left the World in quiet for the rest of our Lives. As it comes now, it will have no Effect at all; at least, that is my Opinion, tho I would not say so to Mr. Hyde.* The Event prov'd answerable to the Prince's Judgment;

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ment; tho for the present, all Appearance seem'd very different from the former Proceedings of the *Dutch* and *Spaniards*, whereof many of the Deputies of the former shew'd an Inclination to comply with his Majesty's Proposals; and appear'd so ill satisfy'd with their Plenipotentiaries having sign'd the Peace, that they form'd several Articles against Monsieur Beverning's Proceedings. The true Spring of this resolute Step of *England*, was generally thought to be the Business of the POPISH PLOT, just then breaking out; for the King, to avoid the Consequences the same might have upon the ill Humour of the Parliament, which seem'd to rise chiefly from the Peace, resolv'd to give them the Satisfaction they had so long desir'd, of-entring into the War.

After Matters had continu'd for about three Weeks in an uncertain state, whether the *Dutch* would ratify their Separate Peace with *France* or no, the *French* King thought the Conjuncture too important to let it hover so long; and therefore first dispatch'd a Courier to his Ambassadors at *Nimeguen*, with leave to satisfy the States, as to those Clauses in the Treaty, wherein they seem'd justly to except against Monsieur *Van Beverning's* Conduct: next, he gave them liberty to make some Condescensions, as to the Points contested with the *Spaniards*: and lastly, he empower'd his Ambassadors to remit all the Differences which obstructed the Conclusion of the Treaty between him and *Spain*, to the Decision and Umpirage of the *States-General*. By the Artifice of this Confidence towards the *Dutch*, on the part of *France*, several Towns and Provinces proceeded, with a general Concurrence, to their Ratifications; that they might be ready in their Ambassadors hands, to be exchange'd when the Treaty of *Spain* was sign'd; which was done on the 17th of September: But wherein the English Mediators

Mediators had no Part. Thus the great Designs of the Court of *England* were eluded; *Mr. Hyde* had the Mortification to return home intirely disappointed; *France* was left in possession of the Peace with *Holland* and *Spain*, and by consequence, *Master of that of the Empire* and the *North*, upon his own Terms. And *England* was left to busy it self about a *Fire* that was *breaking out at Home*, with so much Smoke and Noise, that it was hard to foresee the End of it; the late ill *Management of Affairs*, and *Practices* to favour *POPERY* and *FRENCH COUNSELLS*, having laid in a great Stock of *combustible Materials*.

Several Difficulties delay'd the Treaty of the *Emperor*: But the Diligence and Abilities of the *Dutch Ambassadors* at *Nimeguen*, determin'd the House of *Austria* to run the Ship ashore, whatever came on't, rather than keep out at Sea, in so cruel a Storm as they saw falling upon them, and for which they found themselves so unprovided. The *Spanish Ratifications*, which, as was suppos'd, had been defer'd by concert, at length arriv'd: and after the Winter far spent in *fruitless Contests* by the Imperial Ambassadors, and more *fruitless Hopes* from *England*, by the Allies; *Sir William Temple* receiv'd his Majesty's Orders to go immediately away from the *Hague* to *Nimeguen*; and there assist as a *Mediator*, at the signing of the *Peace*, which then appear'd to be *General*. *Sir William* never obey'd the King's Commands so unwillingly *, both upon account of an *Errand so unnecessary*, and, at best so merely formal, and upon the Inclemency of the Season; which was never known so great in any Man's Memory, as when he set out from the *Hague*. He arriv'd at *Nimeguen* towards the end of *January* 1678⁸, and found all things concluded, and ready to

* See his *Memoirs*, Part II. p. 378.

sign; which was done accordingly on the 1st of February, N. S. The French Ambassadors offer'd to yield the Precedence in signing to the English Ministers, as *Mediators*, which they had done in the whole Course of this Assembly; but the *Imperialists*, who were enrag'd at the Part England had acted in this Negotiation, downright refus'd it: and so the English, by their preposterous Offers to sign, gain'd only the Mortification of having that determin'd against them, which till that time, had always remain'd in suspense. The day after the Treaty was sign'd, Sir William Temple left Nimeguen, and return'd to the Hague, after a cruel Fatigue and Expence: So that upon his going into England, he found himself above seven Thousand Pounds in Arrear at the Treasury. Tho, with much Trouble and Delay, he recover'd the best part of that Sum, yet 2200*l.* remain'd a desperate Debt, and a mark upon him, how unfit he was for a Court. And Mr. Godolphin, after having both said and writ to him, that he would move to have his Statue set up, if he compass'd the last Treaty with Holland, sat several Years after in the Treasury, and saw Sir William want the very Mony he had laid out of his own Purse in that Service.

Soon after his arrival at the Hague, Sir William receiv'd the King's Orders to prepare for his return into England, to come into the Place of first Secretary of State, in Mr. Coventry's room *. And my Lord Treasurer wrote to him to the same purpose; telling him, among other things, *They were fallen into a cruel Disease, and had need of so able a Physician.* Sir William Temple thought the Case almost desperate, and not to be attempted by a Man, who neither ever had his own Fortunes at heart, nor ever could resolve upon any Pursuits of

* Ubi supra, p. 385.

it, to go against either the true Interest, or the *Laws of his Country*; one of which is commonly endanger'd, upon the *fatal Misfortune of such Divisions* in a Kingdom: And therefore he sent * his humble Acknowledgments to the King, in his Answer to the Lord Treasurer; but withal, his Excuses, for not putting his Majesty upon the *use of an old beaten Horse*, in such *hard Service*, as he took *that Station* then to be; and propos'd his Colleague, Sir *Lionel Jenkins*, for that purpose: Adding, that having long promis'd the Great Duke of *Tuscany* that he would make him a Visit at *Florence*, the first time he had leisure from his publick Employments, he turn'd his Thoughts wholly to get Leave for that Journey, as soon as the *Congress at Nimeguen* should break up. Instead of granting this Suit, the King sent a Yacht for Sir *William* towards the end of *February*, with Letters from the Lord Treasurer, and from the Earl of *Sunderland*, who had lately succeeded Sir *Joseph Williamson*; and, in both, a positive Command from the King, for his immediate repair into *England*, for his entring upon the other Secretary's Office.

The King writ the same thing to the Prince of *Orange*, and gave him leave to acquaint the States with it, as a thing his Majesty thought they would be pleas'd with. Sir *William* himself acquainted his Highness and their High Mightinesses with his Journey, and the Design of it, according to the King's Command; and they made him Compliments upon it. The Prince told him, in particular, *He look'd upon it as a piece of Predestination, that he should be a Secretary of State at last, in spite of all he had done so long to avoid it.* But Sir *William* said to the Prince, that *tho he must go, yet if he found the Scene to be what it appear'd at that distance, he*

* Sir W. Temple's *Memoirs*, Part III. p. 2. & seq.

Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE Bar. 315

would not charge himself with that Employment, upon any Terms that could be offer'd. They knew very well in *Holland*, that both Houses of Parliament believ'd the *POPISH PLOT*; that the *CLERGY*, *CITY*, and *COUNTRY* in general, did so too; or at least, pursu'd it as if they all believ'd it: and, on the other hand, they were satisfy'd the *KING*, and some of the Court, believ'd nothing of it, and yet thought not fit to own that Opinion. Upon which occasion, the Prince told the *English Ambassador*, *He had reason to be confident, that the King was in his Heart a ROMAN CATHOLICK, tho he durst not profess it.* Sir William knew not what to believe of one side or t'other, but thought it easy to preface from such contrary Winds and Tides, such a Storm must rise, as would tear the Ship in pieces, whatever Hand were at the Helm.

Upon his arrival in *England*, he met with the most surprizing Scene * that ever was. The long Parliament, that had sat eighteen Years, dissolv'd: That, to make way for a calmer Season, the Resolution had been taken for the Duke of *York's* going into *Holland*, and that he was to part the next Day: so that Sir William Temple had only one occasion of speaking to him; when his Royal Highness told him with great Freedom, the Steps that had been made towards that Resolution, much against his own Opinion, and bid him remember, what he foretold him, That *however this was thought likely to stop the violent Humour then rais'd by the PLOT, yet he (Sir William) should see, it would go on next to my Lord Treasurer's Ruin, tho his Lordship did not expect it.* When the Duke was gone, and the King had told Sir William his Resolution, to have him Secretary, upon Mr. *Coventry's* Removal; and, on the other hand, his Friends having acquainted him, they had

* *Memoirs*, Part III. p. 5. & seq.

the five Thousand Pounds ready to lay down: He began to consider the Ground, and the Journey, and his own Strength to go through with it. He found nothing so necessary for his Majesty's Affairs Abroad, and those of *Christendom*, as *great Union* at Home; which might enable him to make *such a Figure as the Preservation of his Allies requir'd*. On t'other side, he never saw greater Disturbance in Men's Minds at Home, than had been rais'd by the *Plot*, and the pursuit of it in Parliament; and observ'd, it was generally believ'd by both Houses, by City and Country, by Clergy and Laity: so that without the King's uniting with his People, upon the vigorous Prosecution of it, whether it was so or not, he would never grow either into *Ease* at Home, or *Consideration* Abroad. Upon three days Thought of this whole Affair, Sir *William* resolv'd to avoid the Secretary's Place, or any other publick Employment at Home, his Character abroad still continuing: and thereupon fell into Consultations, how he might get off this Point, without any thing that might appear *undutiful* or *ungrateful* to the King. The Elections were canvassing for a new Parliament; and Sir *William* order'd his Pretensions so, as they came to fail. In the mean time, he defer'd entering into the Secretary's Place, till he might likewise enter into the House of Commons; which both the King and the Lord Treasurer were satisfy'd with, tho not the Lord *Sunderland*. But when that Parliament was chosen, Sir *William* represented to his Majesty, how unfit it was to have a Parliament meet, without his having one Secretary of the House of Commons; and how useful Mr. *Coventry* would be to him there, not only for his great Abilities, but for having formerly been turn'd out of the Council and Treasury, to make way for my Lord *Clifford*, and for having ever since been opposite to the FRENCH ALLIANCES. This Excuse obtain'd

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tain'd Sir *William* a Respite, till he could be chosen of the House of Commons; which was endeavour'd upon each doubtful Election, especially that at *Windsor*; but however, could not be carry'd. The short Parliament met * with the Disputes between the Court and the Commons, about the Speaker, begun, indeed, upon a Pique between the Lord Treasurer and Mr. (afterwards Sir *Edward*) *Seymour*, or rather between the Lord *Danby* and him. However it was, this soon ran the House into such Violence against the Lord Treasurer, as ended in his *Ruin*; first, by the King's sudden Resolution to remove him; then by the Commons continuing their Prosecution and Impeachment; and last, by his Lordship's first concealing, and then producing himself in the face of this Storm; which ended in the *Tower*.

After the Heats of the Commons, which encreas'd into new Measures and Motions among them, as they were sway'd by popular Humours upon the *Popish Plot*; and many new Plots laid by the Ambitions of private Persons, carry'd on under Covert of the other: The King, who was sensible of the miserable Condition of his Affairs, imparted his Uneasiness to Sir *William Temple*, and lamented himself, that *he had none left, with whom he could so much as speak in Confidence, since my Lord Treasurer's being gone*. Hereupon Sir *William* consider'd, that the Counsel of the Lord Treasurer's Removal, had been carry'd on by the Duke of *Monmouth*, in conjunction with the Dutchess of *Portsmouth* and the Earl of *Essex*, who was then in the greatest Confidence with the Duke of *Monmouth*; and by him and the Earl of *Sunderland*, brought into the Treasury. He found my Lord *Sunderland*, at least, in compliance with this Knot, and that all were re-

* March 6. 1673.

solv'd to bring the Earl of *Shaftsbury* again into Court, who was in Confidence with the Duke of *Monmouth* and the Earl of *Essex*, and had a near Relation to the Lord *Sunderland*. He observ'd the great Affection the King had to the Duke of *Monmouth*; and plainly saw the use his Grace intended to make of it, in case he could introduce a Ministry at his own Devotion: And this being a Matter that might concern the very *Succession* of the Crown, and not only be an Injury to the Duke of *York*, but thro him to his Children, and the Prince of *Orange*, he resolv'd, first, if it were possible, to break the Growth of that Ministry, tho he saw no Men he could fix in it, with any Satisfaction to the King, or Advantage to his Service. On the other hand, Sir *William Temple* observ'd the Parliament to grow every day more violent, upon the support they receiv'd by the Humours rais'd by the *Popish Plot*, and the Incentives given them by the Ambitions of Persons playing that Game. He saw a probability of Matters growing to such a pass, that his Majesty might be forc'd to part with them; and yet he saw not Authority left in the Crown, either to do that without the venture of great Mischiefs, or to live without another Parliament till the present Humours might cool. Both these Considerations gave Sir *William* the Thoughts of the King's establishing a new Council, of such a Constitution as might either gain Credit enough with the Parliament; by taking some Lords and Commoners who had most Sway in both Houses, without being thought either principl'd or interested against the Government, and thereby give Ease and Quiet both to the King and his People: or, if the Humours should grow outrageous and beyond opposing, the King might yet, at the Head of such a Council, with more Authority and less Hazard, either prorogue or dissolve them; as any Necessities of his

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own, or Extravagancies of theirs should require. These he propos'd to mix with others of the King's more general Choice, for making up one half of the Council; whilst the other half, being Fifteen, were ever to be the present chief Officers of his Crown and Household: who being all of his Majesty's known Trust, as well as Choice, would be sure to keep the Council steady to the true Interest of his Majesty and the Crown. Moreover, one chief regard necessary to this Constitution, was that of the personal Riches of this new Council; which in Revenues, of Land or Offices, was found to amount to about three hundred Thousand Pounds a Year; whereas those of a House of Commons are seldom found to have exceeded four Hundred Thousand Pounds. And as, on the one hand, Authority is observ'd much to follow Land, so, at the worst, such a Council might, out of their own Stock, upon a Pinch, furnish the King so far, as to relieve some great Necessity of the Crown. After this matter had been debated and digested about a Month between the King and Sir *William Temple*, and his Majesty seem'd much satisfy'd with the thing; Sir *William* desir'd him not to take a Resolution of that Importance, without the Advice of three or four Persons, on whose Judgment and Affection to his Service, his Majesty could most rely. Hereupon the King order'd him to communicate the whole Scheme to the Lord Chancellor *Finch*, the Earl of *Sunderland*, and the Earl of *Essex*; but one after another; and with charge from him, of the last Secrecy, and if they concurr'd with his Opinion, that he should appoint them to attend his Majesty next Morning. They all receiv'd the Overture with equal Amazement and Pleasure; the Lord Chancellor saying, *It look'd like a thing from Heaven, fallen into his Majesty's Breast.* The Lord *Essex*, *That it would leave the Parliament and Nation in the same*
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*Dispositions to the King, which he found at his coming in; and the Lord Sunderland approving it as much as any. The next day, when they attended his Majesty, no difficulty arose but two that were Personal. Sir William Temple had propos'd the Marquis of Hallifax as one of the Lords; to whom the King had, at first, shewn some Averseness, in the private Consultations with Sir William Temple: but upon several Representations of his Family, his Abilities, his Estate and Credit, as well as Talent to ridicule and unravel whatever he was spited at, Sir William thought his Majesty had been contented with it. But at this Meeting the King rais'd new Difficulties, and appear'd a great while inflexible; till, at last, the three Lords joining with Sir William, and the latter, saying, *They would fall upon their Knees to gain a Point they all thought necessary for his Service*, his Majesty consented. The other was, concerning the Earl of Shaftsbury, who had never been nam'd in the first Debates: The King either not having thought of him, or not mentioning him, as knowing what Opinion Sir William had of that Lord. But after the Marquis of Hallifax had pass'd, the King said, 'There was another, who, if he were left out, might do as much Mischief as any; and nam'd the Lord Shaftsbury.' To which the other three Lords agreed, and concluded farther, *That he would never be content with a Counsellor's place, among Thirty*; and therefore it was propos'd to add one to the Number, by making a President, which should be he. Sir William Temple disputed this Point, from the first mention to the last conclusion of it; foretelling, he would destroy all the Good that they expected from the whole Constitution; and spoke with so much earnestness, that when by the King's agreeing with the other three, he saw it would be concluded, he walk'd away to the other end of the Room, irresolute,*

solute, whether he should have gone out or not, if the Door had been open; but turning again, he desir'd his Majesty to remember, that *he had no part in Lord Shaftsbury's coming into his Council, or his Affairs. That his Majesty and the other three Lords, had resolv'd it without him; and that he was absolutely against it.* The King laugh'd, and turn'd Sir William's Passion into a Jest; and so went on with the rest of the Constitution intended, till the whole was resolv'd, and executed publickly on the 21st of April 1679.

The Night before the thing was to be done, the King thought fit to tell it the Duke of *Monmouth*; having kept it secret till then, further than to the four Persons before nam'd. But as soon as the Duke of *Monmouth* knew, tho in general, that the Council should be chang'd, he told it to so many, that it was common Talk next Morning; which was interpreted either Lightness or Vanity, to have it thought that he had part in an Affair likely to pass so well. And indeed, when the thing was done, it was receiv'd with general Applause in the Country; with Bonfires in the City, and the same in *Ireland*. In *Holland*, the Stocks of the *East-India* Company rose upon it immediately; and the States design'd one of their best and most considerable Men, Monsieur *Van Lewen*, to come over Minister into *England* upon this Occasion. *France* alone was unsatisfy'd with it, and Monsieur *Barillon* said, *It was making States, and not Councils*; but the Reasons were easy to guess, and so not much regarded. The House of Commons receiv'd it with most Coldness, where the contrary was most expected: and the pretending Knowers amongst them, who were not of the Council, pretended now to know nothing of it, to expect new Revelations; to doubt it might be a Court-Juggle; to refer it to time, to tell what it was in truth; and, in the mean while, to suspend

their Judgments. This was the first Effect of the Lord *Shaftsbury's* good meaning to the King and his Affairs, into which he was enter'd, but not with the personal or transcendent Credit he aim'd at with his Majesty, and which he rightly judg'd those who had been Authors of this new Counsel, had the greatest share in. This made him fall in more absolutely with the Duke of *Monmouth*, and use all their Endeavours to raise such Discontents and Heats in the Houses, upon the Apprehensions of *Popery*, and Propositions to prevent it, that the King found himself soon upon as uneasy Terms with this Session of Parliament, as he had been with the last; the Humours being engag'd by the Lord *Shaftsbury's* Insinuations amongst his Confidants, that the Duke of *Monmouth* had so much Credit with the King, that his Majesty desir'd but a good Occasion of consenting to all the Parliament should insist on, which would be given him by Heat and Obstinacy in so popular a Point as that against *Popery*: And if that were once gain'd, the Duke of *Monmouth* and he should be able to steer all the rest, to the Satisfaction of those who were call'd the *Honest or Protestant Party*.

It was Sir *William Temple's* Opinion, that such a Mischief could never have grown, if the Lord *Shaftsbury* had not work'd himself up into Credit, both in Parliament and City, by the Appearance of having it with the King, and in the Council, where he was President; and by the Infusions given, of his having, or growing yet into greater, by a more secret Spring; which was, the Interest of the Duke of *Monmouth*, and the Kindness of his Majesty increasing, as visibly appear'd since the Duke of *York's* Absence. Therefore Sir *William* could not but believe all this would have been avoided, if upon the new Constitution, the Earl of *Shaftsbury* had been left out, as a Person mark'd by the King, and never

never to enter more into his Affairs or Confidence. But this Fate, as *Sir William Temple* could not prevent by all his Endeavours, so he had foretold it his Majesty the Year before: When, upon his coming over, the King had fallen into all the violent Expressions that could be against him, *Sir William* told his Majesty, That *with his good Leave, he would hold any Wager, he should see that Lord again in his Business.* And when the King ask'd him, what made him think so? *Sir William* said, *Because he knew he was restless while he was out, and would try every Door to get in; had Wit and Industry to find out the ways: and when Money would work, had as much as any body to bestow, and Skill enough to know where to place it.*

This Turn in the King's Affairs, upon this new Constitution, gave *Sir William Temple* so great a Vexation, and so ill a Prospect, that having delay'd the Time prescrib'd for every Man's receiving the Sacrament, according to Law, after his Entrance into publick Employment, till it was very near expir'd; he once resolv'd, by that Omission, to make himself incapable of bearing any for the future; and was not persuaded to lay aside that Thought, till after long Debates upon it with his near Relations: But he continu'd barely of the Council, with a Resolution of not entring upon the Secretary's Office, tho often and earnestly urg'd to it by the Lord *Sunderland*, with others of his Friends.

Upon the Constitution of the new Council, the Earl of *Sunderland* had, by Mr. *Sydney*, desir'd, that *Sir William Temple* and he might join together in perfect Confidence, and distinct from any others in the Course of the King's Affairs; which *Sir William* said, 'He was willing to embrace, tho he knew no need of it, considering how much the general Affairs were devolv'd upon the Council, or the particular Committees; and how much he thought it was fit that they should continue so, without

'running into any private Channels.' This Confidence had not gone on above a Fortnight, when the Lord *Sunderland* ask'd Sir *William Temple* if he were willing the Earl of *Essex* should be receiv'd into it? Which he consented to, tho with intimation of the Opinion he had, for some time of late, of Lord *Essex*. So they met for a while once a day, by turns, at each of their Houses, and consulted upon the chief Affairs that were then on the Anvil; and how they might be best prepar'd for the Parliament or the Council. But Matters growing very untoward, by the Practices of the Lord *Shaftsbury*, with the Duke of *Monmouth's* Cover at least; and upon the ill Humour of the House of Commons, about the Business of Religion: and the Marquis of *Hallifax* appearing unsatisfy'd, by observing where the King's Confidence was, Sir *William Temple* propos'd to the Lords *Sunderland* and *Essex*, to receive him into all their Consultations; which he thought would both enter him into Credit with the King, and give them Three more Ease in the Course of his Majesty's Affairs. The Earl of *Essex* receiv'd this Overture with his usual Dryness; the Lord *Sunderland* oppos'd it a good deal, and told Sir *William*, *He should not find the Lord Hallifax the Person he took him for, but one that would draw with no body, and still climbing up to the Top himself.* However, Sir *William Temple* continu'd resolute in pressing, and so, at length, the thing was concluded; and they fell all Four together into the usual Meetings and Consultations.

The chief Matters that lay before the King at this time, were, first, the Satisfaction of his People, by falling into some Measures with the Parliament, that might enable him to look Abroad in such a Figure as became the Crown of *England*, and was necessary for preventing the common Fears, of

a new Invasion of *France* upon *Flanders* or *Holland*; which look'd very desperate, without some strong and resolute Protection from *England*. The second was, a Resolution to be taken in Answer to the Instances made by Monsieur *Van Lewen* from the States-General, about a NEW GUARANTY to be given upon the late general Peace by his Majesty; particularly, to *Spain*, in the business of *Flanders*. And the third, was, the giving some Ease to *Scotland*, where the Humours began to swell about this time; and which the *Quadrivirate* thought could be no way done so easily, as by the removal of the Duke of *Lauderdale*, a Man too much hated both in *England* and *Scotland*, to be fit for the Temper his Majesty seem'd resolv'd to use in his Affairs. For this last, they could not, upon any Terms, obtain it of the King, by all the Arguments us'd, both jointly and severally, by all Four; the King persisting in his Opinion, That none of them knew *Scotland* so well as himself. For the second, they easily agreed upon the Measures that seem'd necessary for the Satisfaction of the States-General, and the Safety of *Flanders*; being all four of the Committee for foreign Affairs; and taking the Duke of *Monmouth* and the Lord *Shaftsbury* into the first Digestion of this Treaty with *Holland*, at a Meeting for that purpose at the Lord *Hallifax*'s House: which was the only time Sir *William Temple* ever had any Discourse with the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, further than the Council-Chamber. For the first thing, which was the most important, they found it more perplex'd than they could imagine. Both Houses of Parliament seem'd to have no Eyes, but for the Dangers of Popery upon the Duke of *York*'s Succession to the Crown; which just Apprehensions were artfully improv'd by the Duke of *Monmouth* and Earl of *Shaftsbury*. The King seem'd willing to give them all possible Security against those Fears, without changing the Laws

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in Point of SUCCESSION: and, on the other side, the House of Commons were busy in finding out Expedients to secure this Point, but could agree on none; being still diverted from fixing on any, by the Lord *Shaftsbury's* Practices. The Council fell upon the same Scent, with great earnestness; and after much Debate, agreed upon many Heads to be laid before the Parliament. One of these Expedients, which were to be offer'd to the House of Commons by some of their own Members, and only to be hinted at in general Terms, by the King, in his Speech to both Houses, was, to have a Bill brought in for the ASSOCIATION of all his Majesty's Protestant Subjects. Another was, a Bill for the Banishment of all considerable Papists out of *England*. A third for securing frequent Parliaments; and it was likewise propos'd, That the Prince of *Orange* should be join'd in the Administration with the Duke of *York*, upon the latter's coming to the Crown. These Expedients were agreed to by all the Council, except the Earl of *Shaftsbury* and Sir *William Temple*, who were against them upon very different grounds. Sir *William's* were two: First, Because he believ'd that nothing that came first from the King, upon these Points, would be accepted by the Commons; who, if they would be satisfy'd at all, Sir *William* thought should first agree upon what, and leave it to the King to take or refuse. The second was, That as he did not see any certain Ease these Expedients would give the King, tho agreed to by the Houses, so it was evident to all Men, that they would leave the Crown, after him, in Shackles; which put on, upon occasion of the Duke of *York*, would not be easily knock'd off by any Successor. The Earl of *Shaftsbury's* Ground was plain, and so express'd by him upon all Occasions; which was, that there could be no Security against the Duke of *York*, if once in possession of the Crown:

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And this being well infus'd by his and the Duke of Monmouth's Friends, into the House of Commons, occasion'd their rejecting all the Expedients offer'd them from the King.

During all these Transactions, the Marquis of Hallifax, Lord Effex, Lord Sunderland, and Sir William Temple, continu'd their constant Consultations; and with so much Union and disinterested Endeavours for the general Good of the King's Service and the Nation's, that Sir William could not but say to them, at the end of one of their Meetings, That *they were either the four honestest Men in England, or the four greatest Knaves; for they made one another, at least, believe, that they were the honestest Men in the World.* But this Conjunction held not long: for after the Houses rejecting the Expedients offer'd by the King and Council, the Earl of Shaftsbury finding himself neither in Confidence with the King, nor Credit in the Council, turn'd all his Practices and Hopes to the House of Commons; and inflam'd them to that degree, as made the Lords Hallifax, Effex, and Sunderland, begin to grow uneasy, and to cast about which way they might lay the Storm. At length, my Lord Sunderland told Sir William Temple, that the other two Lords were of Opinion, that it was necessary to take in the Duke of Monmouth and Earl of Shaftsbury, into the first Digestion of Affairs, considering the Influence they had upon the House; and for this end, to agree with them in the Banishment of the Duke of York, either for a certain Term, or during the King's Life; and desir'd to know, whether Sir William Temple would fall into it with them, and join in bringing it about with the King? Sir William Temple answer'd my Lord Sunderland positively, 'He would not: For, First, he would never have any thing to do with the Duke of Monmouth and the Lord Shaftsbury. And next, ' he

‘ he would never enter into Matters of Difference
 ‘ between the King and his Brother; having, upon
 ‘ several Occasions, told them both, that he would
 ‘ ever do all he could towards the Union of the
 ‘ whole Royal Family, but never would have any
 ‘ thing to do in the Divisions of it; *and no Man*
 ‘ *should ever reproach him with breaking his Word*, and
 ‘ much less the King and the Duke of *York*.’ Upon
 this peremptory Answer, the three Lords fell into
 Meetings and Consultations with the Duke of *Mon-*
mouth and Earl of *Shaftsbury*, which Sir *William*
Temple knew nothing of; but tho they broke off
 the first Confidence with the latter, yet their Kind-
 ness one to another still continued.

But their Union lasted not long neither: for, in
 a few Weeks, the three Lords finding that the Duke
 of *Monmouth* and Earl of *Shaftsbury* were like to
 prevail upon the House of Commons, in their En-
 deavours to bring the King into Necessities of yield-
 ing all Points to them, whereby they two would
 be left absolutely at the head of Affairs; began to
 make their Complaints of it to Sir *William Temple*,
 and to fall upon the Thoughts of Proroguing the
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 them in this Overture, and the rather, because he
 foresaw it would absolutely break the three Lords
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 and the Lord *Shaftsbury*: and so they agreed to pro-
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 Country; and upon his Arrival, he was told by
 the Earl of *Effex*, that the King had found out,
 there were Remonstrances ready prepar’d in the
 House of Commons, to inflame the City and Na-
 tion; and that the three Lords having thereupon
 consulted with his Majesty, he had resolv’d to pro-
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rogue the Parliament that Morning; and that it could not be allow'd Time or Vent, by a Debate in Council: which Sir *William* thought an ill Omifion, and that it ought to have the Authority of the King, with Advice of his Council, according to the usual Forms. But it pass'd otherwise, and with very great Resentment of both Houses; and such Rage of the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, that he said upon it aloud in the House, that he would have the Heads of those who were the Advisers of this *Prorogation*.

During this Session of Parliament, Sir *William Temple* had several Notices given him, of a Practice set on foot in the House of Commons, for impeaching him, as one that had been an INSTRUMENT in making THE GENERAL PEACE. This was urg'd by Stories of his being a Man of ARBITRARY PRINCIPLES, and one that had written several things, tho without Name, against the Constitution of Parliaments, and in favour of POPERY; and this went so far, that Mr. (afterwards Duke of) *Montague*, went from Man to Man in the House, to know whether if such an Accusation were brought in, they would be against Sir *William*? Several went into it, upon Hatred to the late Lord Treasurer, whose Friend they took him to be, and upon Envy at his being design'd for Secretary of State; but yet in no such Numbers, that Mr. *Montague* could hope to make any thing of it. When some of Sir *William Temple*'s Friends acquainted him with it, he only desir'd them to obtain leave of the House, that he might hear his Accusation at their Bar; and assur'd them, he should be glad to have that occasion of telling there both Mr. *Montague*'s Story and his own. This fell: But upon the knowledg of these Practices, the Earl of *Sunderland* and Mr. *Sidney* (afterwards Earl of *Rumney*) who thought that a Man who had such share in

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the King's Affairs, ought to stand as well as he could with the House of Commons, press'd him to suffer several small Tracts he had formerly written, and of which Copies had been handed about, to be then printed, as they were, under the Title of *Miscellanea*. They thought, by that publication, Men would see Sir *William* was not a Man of the dangerous Principles pretended; and he might assure the World, of being the Author of no Books that had not his Name. The thing seem'd, indeed, to pass well enough; only the Lord *Hallifax* commending them to Sir *William* in general, told him as a Friend, that he should take heed of carrying too far, that Principle of Paternal Dominion, (deduc'd in the *Essay of Government*) for fear of Destroying the Rights of the People: So tender was every body of those Points, at that time!

The three Lords and Sir *William* went on unanimous in their Consultations, considering how to make way for a calmer Session of Parliament: To which purpose they again endeavour'd the Removal of the Duke of *Lauderdale*, or, at least, the Admission of other Nobles of *Scotland* into those Affairs; concluded the Measures with *Holland* in all Points, to the satisfaction of their Ambassadors; and thought of such Acts of Council as might express his Majesty's Care for suppressing *Popery*, even in the Intervals of Parliament. They only disagreed in one Point, which was, the leaving some Priests to the Law, upon the Accusation of being Priests only, as the *House of Commons* had desired; which Sir *William Temple* thought wholly unjust, without giving them publick warning by Proclamation, to be gone, or expect the Penalties of the Law within such a Time, since the Connivance had lasted now through three Kings Reigns. Upon this Point the Lord *Hallifax* and Sir *William* had so sharp a Debate, that his Lordship told him, *If he would not concur in Points so necessary for the People's satisfaction, he would tell every*

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every body Sir William was a Papist. And upon his affirming, *That the Plot must be handled as if it were true, whether it were so or no, since it was generally believ'd*; Sir William reply'd with some warmth, 'That the Plot was a matter long on foot before he came over; and not having observ'd all the Motions of it, to understand it, he would have nothing to do with it: But in other things he was content to join with them, where they thought he could be of use to the King's Service; and where they thought there was none, he was very willing to be excus'd, and very glad to leave his Majesty's Affairs in so good hands as theirs.' Notwithstanding this Difference, the three Lords continu'd their Conferences with Sir William with mutual Confidence; and two of them, the Lords *Sunderland* and *Hallifax*, press'd him extremely to come into the Secretary's place: my Lord *Hallifax* offering to bring it to a Point with his Uncle *Coventry*.

Since the last Prorogation, the Earl of *Shaftsbury* had been busy in preparing *Fewel* for next Session, not without appearance of ill Humour at Council, which often broke into spiteful Repartees between him and the Lord *Hallifax*: and on t'other side, the Duke of *Monmouth* had broken all Measures with the Lord *Essex*. The *Rebellion* in *Scotland* breaking out in this Conjunction, the King was for suppressing it immediately, by Forces from *England* to be joined by those in *Scotland*, under the Command of the Duke of *Monmouth*. The Lord *Shaftsbury* was unwilling this Rising should be wholly, or too soon suppress'd, or otherwise than by his Friends in *Scotland*, who might be thereby introduc'd into the Direction of Affairs there; yet, on the other side, he was willing to see the Duke of *Monmouth* grow great by such a Command; and agreed with his Grace, to put the King upon another Project, to the same end; which was (upon the Duke of *Monmouth's* carrying

so many of the *English* Forces into *Scotland*) to raise a Troop of two Hundred Gentlemen for the Guard and Safety of the King's Person, whereof the Duke of *Monmouth* to be Captain; and which was to be compos'd chiefly of broken Officers, whose Merits were best known to his Grace. On the other hand, the Lord *Essex*, tho he agreed with the King's Opinion, to have the Insurrection immediately suppress'd; yet he had a mind it should be done by the *Scotch*, to prevent the Duke of *Monmouth's* growing greater by that Command: and tho he would not oppose his Majesty in his Resolution of sending his Grace upon this Expedition, yet he did effectually break the other design of raising the Troop of 200 Gentlemen, by starting invincible Difficulties at the Treasury, where he was at the head. The Duke of *Monmouth* went into *Scotland*; suppress'd absolutely the Rebellion; return'd in Triumph; was receiv'd with great Applauses from all, and with great appearance of Kindness and Favour by the King.

The term of the Prorogation of the Parliament being near expiring, the three Lords and Sir *William* consulted together, whether considering the Distempers of the present Parliament, the best Course were not to dissolve it, and have another call'd in *October*? Which being unanimously carry'd in the Affirmative; and the King being of the same mind, it was resolv'd that the King should propose the same Question at next Council, and that in the mean time, the Lord Chancellor and the other chief Officers should be acquainted with the King's mind, by his Majesty, or the three Lords. By their computation, the three Lords and Sir *William* concluded, there could not be above six in the whole Council that could be against it; which they thought would be a great Support to the King's Resolution, against all the Exclamations they expected from the Lord *Shaftsbury* and his Friends. But when the Council-Day

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came,

came, the King and the three Lords having neglected to prepare the Lord Chancellor and other chief Officers, Sir *William Temple* observ'd a great surprize at the Board; which made him suspect his Majesty had spoke of it to few or none but the Chancellor, before he came in. It soon appear'd he had not so much as done that neither: for after a long Pause, he was the first that rose up, and spoke long and violently against the *Dissolution*; and was follow'd by the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, *Anglesey*, *Arlington*, Marquiss of *Worcester*, and every Man there, except the three Lords, who spoke for the *Dissolution*; but neither with half the Length or Force of Argument they intended to have done. They left, it seems, that part to Sir *William Temple*, who was well enough instructed in the Case: but being spighted at the Negligence of his Friends, who might so easily have effected what was agreed on; and seeing that Reasons would signify nothing, after such Majority was declar'd, he contented himself with saying, 'That he thought it was every Man's Opinion, that a happy Agreement between his Majesty and Parliament was of Necessity to his Affairs, both at Home and Abroad: That all the difference, in a continuance of this, or assembling of another Parliament, would depend only upon the likelihood of agreeing better and easier with one than t'other: That his Majesty had spoken so much of his despairing about any Agreement with this present Parliament, and the hopes he had of doing it with another, that for his (Sir *William's*) part, he thought that ought to decide it; because he thought his Majesty could better judg of that than any body else.' So his Majesty order'd the Chancellor to draw up a Proclamation for dissolving the Parliament, and calling another to meet in *October* following: And thereupon the Council broke up with the greatest Rage in the World, of the
Lord

Lord *Shaftsbury*, Lord *Russel*, and two or three more, and the general Dissatisfaction of the whole Board.

After the Council, every Man's Head began to fill with the thoughts of the new Elections: And Sir *William Temple* having resolv'd to stand for the University of *Cambridge*, whereof the Duke of *Monmouth* was Chancellor; Sir *William* desir'd the King to speak to him, to write to some of his Friends in his Favour. But by all that the King was pleas'd to say, the Duke of *Monmouth* would not be brought further, than to promise he would not meddle in it one way or t'other; which gave Sir *William* the first plain Testimony of his Grace's Dispositions towards him, having ever receiv'd, before, all outward Civilities from his Grace. However, his Election in the University proceeded with the most general Concurrence, and without any Difficulties, except such as were rais'd by the Bishop of *Ely*; who own'd his opposing Sir *William*, from a Chapter of *Religion* in his *Observations on the Netherlands*, which gave that Prelate an Opinion, that Sir *William* was for such a *Toleration* as he describ'd to be in *Holland*.

The Summer was declining, but the Duke of *Monmouth* in his greatest height, when the King fell * sick at *Windsor*, and with three such Fits of an *Ague* and *Fever*, as gave much apprehension, and occasion'd a general *Consternation*; People looking upon any thing, at this time, that should happen ill to the King, as an *End of the World*. Sir *William Temple* went to *Windsor* after the second Fit; and having seen his Majesty, observ'd more Strength and fewer ill Symptoms than had been reported; so that he could not think him in danger, without Accidents: and thereupon went thence, without entering into any Discourses with the three Lords,

* August 25. 1679.

whom he found very diligent at Court, in attending both the King's Person and Affairs.

Three or four Days after, having received Assurance of the King's Recovery, Sir *William Temple* went up to *London* to sollicite the great Arrears of his Embassies at the Treasury; and in his way to the Lord of *Essex's* House, where the Commissioners were met, he heard that the Duke of *York* was that * Night pass'd through *London*, and rode Post to *Windsor*. This, he thought, at first, his Royal Highness had been induc'd to by the Reports of the King's Danger; and made no further Reflection upon it, than that of the great Surprize and Uneasiness that would be given the Lords *Essex* and *Halifax*, by this sudden Arrival of the Duke, to whose Interests they had run counter for several Years: but upon their late breaking all Measures with the Lord *Shafisbury*, Sir *William* thought he had Field enough left for doing them good Offices to the Duke of *York*. When he came to the Lord *Essex's* House, and ask'd for the Commissioners, he found that my Lord *Essex* had left them together, and was gone up into his Chamber; whither Sir *William* being immediately sent for, he saw his Lordship booted and ready to get up on Horseback. As soon as they were alone, the Lord *Essex* asked him, *Whether he had not met with strange News, and what he thought of it?* Sir *William* answering, 'It did not seem very strange that the Duke should come, if he thought the King in danger.' The Lord *Essex* reply'd, *Yet 'twas strange he should come without leave from the King; and that now his Majesty was well, sure he would not think of staying three Days: That he was going as fast as he could to Windsor, to see what all this Business was; and ask'd Sir William, if he would not go?* Which he excus'd for that day, but promis'd the next.

* September 2.

In this little Discourse, Sir *William* observ'd all along a sneering Smile, which he knew not what to make of: He thought, if it were a Countenance, it was better put on than was usual with his Lordship; and that he should be pleas'd at Heart, Sir *William* could not well imagine, knowing how things had pass'd between the Duke and him. Next Day Sir *William* went to *Windsor*, and the first Man he met was Lord *Hallifax*, who with a Face of Trouble, and Hands lift up, told him, That the Duke was come: That every Body was amazed; but where we were, or what would be next, no Body knew: And so bid him go on to Court, before the King went out. After Sir *William* had been with the King, he went to the Duke, who receiv'd him with great Kindness; and ask'd him, smiling, and very familiarly, Whether he did not wonder to see him here? Sir *William* told him, Not at all, if he had thought the King in danger; for in that case his Royal Highness had nothing else to do; and that he believed upon the first News of his Majesty's Illness, he would come as near as he could, either to *Newport*, or *Calais*, and there expect the next News; but that the King's Sickness having pass'd so soon, he confess'd he had not thought of his coming over. After this, they talk'd of the King's Recovery; what stay his Royal Highness would make, which he said, should be as the King pleas'd, for he would obey him in every thing: And then Sir *William* gave his Royal Highness a short account of Affairs here, as they had pass'd since the Constitution of the Council. Upon this Chapter, he said a great deal to make the Lords *Essex* and *Hallifax* Court, which he was very glad to see so well receiv'd by the Duke: For as to Lord *Sunderland*, he had little reason to believe he needed it, having ever been in with the Court. As for himself, Sir *William* only said at last, 'That because he did not know what our present Distempers might end in

if the next Parliament should prove of the same Humour with the two last; nor what Measures his Royal Highness would fall into, about staying or going away again; he would only say, That *let whatever would befall the King's Affairs, or his Highness's, he might always reckon upon him as a LEGAL MAN*, and one who would always follow the Crown as became him. Nor could any thing make the least Scruple in this Resolution, *unless things should ever grow so desperate, as to BRING IN FOREIGNERS, which (if ever it should be) would be a new Case; and that Sir William knew not what to think of.* Upon this, the Duke laid his Hand upon Sir William, and bid him *keep there, and he would desire no more of him or any Man.* And so Sir William took his leave, after a gracious Audience, and return'd home that Night; having miss'd the Lords *Hallifax* and *Essex* at the Lord *Sunderland's*, where they had appointed to meet.

Sir William made the Reflections he could not avoid upon the Carriage of his Friends, till within a few Days he heard the News of the Duke of *Monmouth's* Disgrace; which tho it came by some degrees, yet they were so sudden one after another, as to make it appear a lost Game in the King's Favour: Tho nothing could seem more reasonable than that which it ended in, *viz.* That while the Duke of *York* was abroad, the Duke of *Monmouth* should be so too; having made his Pretensions so evident, and pursu'd them so much to the prejudice of the King's Affairs. However, being at a loss how the Duke had been able, in so few Days, to get so great a Victory, Sir William went to *London*, and found my Lord *Hallifax* in Physick, but saw plainly his Distemper was not what he call'd it. His Head was very full, but very unquiet; and when they were left alone, all their Talk was by *Snatches; Sickness, ill Humour, Hate of Town and Business, Ridiculousness*

lousness of human Life: and whenever Sir William turn'd any thing to the present Affairs, after their usual manner, nothing but Action of Hands, open Eyes, Wonder and Signs of Trouble, and then Silence.

Sir William return'd home satisfy'd enough upon what Terms he stood with his Friends, tho he knew not whence it came, or whither it went; but he soon found out the whole Secret, which was, that upon the King's Illness the Lords *Essex* and *Hallifax* being about him, thought his Danger great, and their own so too; and that if any thing happen'd to the King's Life, the Duke of *Monmouth* would be at the head of the Nation, in opposition to the Duke of *York*, upon pretence of *Popery*, and in conjunction with the Earl of *Shaftsbury*; who had *threatned* to *have their Heads*, upon Prorogation of the last Parliament: which Threat was apply'd by the Lords *Essex* and *Hallifax* to themselves; reckoning the Lord *Sunderland* safe by his Relation to the Earl of *Shaftsbury*, and the fair Terms that had always made between them. This Fright had so affected these two Lords, that not staying to see what the King's second Fit would be, they propos'd to the King the sending immediately for the Duke; which being resolv'd, and the Dispatch made with all the Secrecy and Speed imaginable, his Royal Highness came over; but finding the King recover'd, it was agreed to pass for a Journey wholly of his own, and that it should be receiv'd by his Majesty and the three Lords with all Marks of Surprize. When this was done, they found the Duke of *Monmouth* so enrag'd at this Counsel, as well as Lord *Shaftsbury*, that they saw no way but to ruin them both; throw them quite out of the King's Affairs, and join themselves wholly with the Duke of *York*: Which they did for that time, till they had brought about all his Royal Highness desir'd for his Security against

1679.
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the Duke of *Monmouth* and the Earl of *Shaftsbury*; the first going over into * *Holland*, and the other being turn'd † out of the Council.

Tho Sir *William Temple* was glad of any Mortification that happen'd to the Duke of *Monmouth* and Lord *Shaftsbury*, whose Ambition had run the Kingdom into such incurable *Divisions*, at a time that our Union was so necessary to the Affairs of Christendom; yet he highly resented the Carriage of the three Lords towards him in this Affair: not so much for their taking a Resolution of so great Importance, without his Knowledg and Concert, as for keeping him ignorant after the Duke's coming over; and so far, as to let him (Sir *William*) make such a Figure as he did, in making all the Court he could to his Royal Highness for the Lords *Effex* and *Hallifax*, while they were both in the Depth and Secret of his Interest and Counsels; and Sir *William*, who had reason to think himself well with the Duke, was left wholly out of all Confidence both with him and with them. He had reason to resent it yet further, when he found that some of them, perceiving the Duke much unsatisfy'd with the Constitution of the new Council, had, to make their own Court, laid the whole Load of it upon Sir *William*; whereas if the Lord Chancellor, the Earl of *Sunderland*, and the Earl of *Effex* had not fallen into it with the greatest Applauses and Endeavours in the World to finish the Draught of it, the thing had certainly died; and Sir *William* would have been very well content it should, after he could not hinder the Lord *Shaftsbury*'s being brought in. Sir *William* could not forbear telling the Lord *Sunderland* of these Resentments; adding, 'He found himself so unfit for Courts, that he was resolved to pass the rest of his Life in his own Domestick, without trou-

* Septemb. 24. 1679.

† Octob. 15.

‘ bling himself farther about any publick Affairs,
 ‘ than not to appear fullen in not coming some-
 ‘ times to general Councils; and that the Lord
 ‘ *Effex* and Lord *Hallifax*’s Carriage to him had been
 ‘ such, after having been the two Men of *England* he
 ‘ had it in his Power and Fortunes most to oblige,
 ‘ that he would never have any thing more to do
 ‘ with them.’ Upon this, all Commerce ceased be-
 tween those two Lords and Sir *William Temple*, further
 than common Civility when they met at Council,
 or in Third-places; tho the Lord *Hallifax* came to
 an *Eclaircissement* with him the Spring after, which
 ended very well; and Sir *William* did him all the
 good Offices he could in the House of Commons,
 as well as in Council, upon their Heats against him.

Sir *William Temple* pass’d the rest of the *Autumn*
 at home, and left the *three Lords* in the chief Mi-
 nistry, and, as outwardly appear’d, and they fondly
 believ’d, in sole Confidence both with the *King* and
Duke. These two Princes acted their respective
 Parts so well in this *nice Juncture*, that the Lord
Effex told Sir *John Temple*, Sir *William*’s Brother,
 that he had more Credit with the *King* than all the rest
 of the *Ministers*, or any Man in *England*: But the
 refin’d Courtiers, who observed Countenances and
 Motions, had no Opinion of it. And soon after, the
 Lords *Effex* and *Hallifax*, upon the pretended Dis-
 covery of the famous *Popish* Intrigue, call’d the
Meal-Tub-Plot, took such a Distaste at finding them-
 selves mention’d in it, and yet left out of the se-
 cret Examinations about it; that the *Duke* was
 no sooner gone * back for *Flanders*, but their Dis-
 contents grew open against the Court: my Lord
Effex left the Treasury; the Lord *Hallifax*, in Dis-
 course with Sir *William Temple*, commended him for
 it; and acquainted him with his Resolution to go

* September 26.

down into the Country: And tho he could not plant Melons as Sir William did, being in the North, yet he would plant Carrots and Cucumbers, rather than trouble himself any more about publick Affairs. And accordingly he went down to Rufford. To their nearer Friends those two Lords complain'd, That they found they had no sound part either in the King's Confidence or the Duke's: That they were but other Men's Dupes, and did other Men's Work: and finding no Measures would be taken for satisfying and uniting the Kingdom, they would no more share in publick Business.

Upon the Earl of Essex's leaving the Treasury, Mr. Laurence Hyde * came of course to be First Commissioner; and he and Mr. † Sidney Godolphin were brought into the Council, where Sir William Temple met them the next time he came, and complimented them upon it, as two Persons that had always been his Friends, and agreed with him in all his Opinions and Measures about Affairs abroad, wherein only they had been conversant. These two join'd in Confidence with the Lord Sunderland; and the other two Lords being in Discontent or absent, and Sir William Temple keeping at home, this Triumvirate was esteem'd to be alone in the Secret and Management of the King's Affairs, and were, at least, the Ministry.

The Duke of York being in Flanders, and the Duke of Monmouth in Holland, the Lord Shaftsbury endeavour'd to inflame the Reckoning of the late Conduct in the Parliament which was to meet in October, and to set about Petitions, in case they did not sit. And the Ministers not being able to stand the opening of the Parliament, a short Prorogation was expected some Days before that appointed for their

* Afterwards Earl of Rochester.

† Afterwards Earl of Godolphin.

Assembly. Sir *William Temple* had not been at Court or Council in a Month or six Weeks, when being recover'd of a Fit of the *Gout*, he came * to Town, and went to the Lord *Sunderland*; talk'd to him of his Arrears in the Treasury, desir'd his help: which his Lordship promis'd with great Kindness, and went with him to the King, where they propos'd and agreed the way of Sir *William's* satisfaction. From the King's Chamber they went to the Council, where Sir *William* expected nothing but such common things as he knew had pass'd for a good while before; but after a short Pause, the King told them, ' That upon many Considerations, which he ' would not at present acquaint them with, he ' found it necessary to make a longer *Prorogation* ' than he had intended, of the Parliament: That ' he had weigh'd all the Consequences, so far as to ' be absolutely resolv'd not to hear any thing that ' should be said against it: That he would not have ' the Parliament sit till that time Twelve-Month; ' and charg'd the Lord Chancellor to proceed accordingly; and first to prorogue them to the 26th ' of *January* next.' All at Council were stunn'd at this surprizing Resolution, and the way of proposing it, except those few that were in the Secret; and they thought fit to be silent, and leave the thing wholly upon his Majesty. Several others rose up, and would have entred into the Reasonings and Consequences of it; but the King would not hear them, and so all Debate ended. After this, Sir *William* stood up, and with great Judgment and an admirable Turn of Wit, peculiar to himself, told the King, *That as to the Resolution he had taken, he would say nothing, because he was resolv'd to hear no reasoning upon it; therefore he would only presume to offer his Majesty his humble Advice, as to the Course of his future Proceed-*

* October 24. 1679.

ings; which was, That his Majesty, in his Affairs, would please to make use of some Council or other, and allow Freedom to their Debates and Advices; after hearing which, his Majesty might yet resolve as he pleased. That if he did not think the Persons or Number of this present Council suited with his Affairs, it was in his power to dissolve them, and constitute another of any Number he pleased; and to alter them again when he would: But to make COUNSELLORS THAT SHOULD NOT COUNSEL, Sir William DOUBTED whether it were in his Majesty's Power, or not, because it imply'd a Contradiction; and so far as he had observ'd, either of former Ages or the present, he question'd whether it was a thing had been practis'd in England by his Majesty's Predecessors, or was so now by any of the Princes in Christendom?

The King heard Sir William very graciously; nor did his Majesty seem at all to be displeas'd with any thing he had said, which was very much approv'd by most Lords of the Council: Yet when they were up, the Earl of Sunderland came to Sir William, and told him, *He was never so surprized as at what he had said, and expected it sooner from any Man in England than Sir William: Adding, That whatever Resolutions had been taken about his Business in the Treasury, he was sure nothing should be done.* Sir William reply'd, *That if his Lordship liked not what he had said, he should have prevented it, by telling him, before he came to Council, what was intended to be done; which if he (Sir William) had known, he would not have been there; and that if his Debt would not be paid, he must live the best he could without it.*

Not long before, the Prince of Orange wrote Sir William word, how much he found the Duke unsatisfy'd with him, upon the belief that Sir William had given the Prince those Impressions and Sentiments he had upon the common Affairs of Christendom; whereas he could say, on the contrary, that it was he (the Prince)

Prince) had given Sir William his; and should never change his own, till he were convinc'd of being in the Wrong: However, that he thought fit, out of Friendship to Sir William, to give him this Advice. Thus Sir William was in a posture to make but an indifferent Figure at Court: The Duke of York unsatisfy'd with him of late; the Duke of Monmouth and Lord Shaftsbury from the very first; the Lords Essex and Hallifax out of all Commerce with him; great Civility from the other Ministers, but no Communication; and the King himself, tho very gracious, yet very reserv'd. Upon all this, and the melancholy Prospect of the Distractions at home, and thereupon the Disasters threatening abroad; but chiefly * his own native Humour, born either for a private Life and particular Conversation, or general Leisure, with a mixture of Philosophical Uprightness and Sincerity, that made him unfit for the Windings and Turnings of a Court; he resolv'd by degrees, to wind himself out of all publick Affairs.

The Parliament being met on the 26th of January 16⁷⁹, the King prorogu'd them to the 15th of April following; and two days after declar'd in Council, that he would send for the Duke of York, who some days after his return into Flanders, had the King's leave to come over, in order to go to Scotland. The Lord Russel, Lord Cavendish †, Sir Henry Capel, and Mr. Powle, distast'd at the late Prorogations, the remiss Prosecution, or rather ridiculing of the Popish Plot, and growing Power of the Duke of York; and despairing of being able to serve the King any longer, in a Conduct of Affairs so disagreeable to the general Humour of the People, and so inconsistent with the true Interest of the Nation; desir'd || his Ma-

* Sir W. Temple's Memoirs, Part III. p. 95.

† The late Duke of Devonshire, first Duke of that Name.

|| January 31.

jeſty to excuse their Attendance any more upon him at Council; to which the King, with his uſual Frankneſs, answer'd, *With all my Heart.* The Lords *Salisbury, Eſſex* and *Hallifax*, ſeem'd to have taken the ſame Reſolution, tho not in ſo much Form: Upon which, Sir *William Temple*, who ever preſerv'd an untainted Loyalty to the Crown, with an *unſhaken Love to his Country, and Publick Spirit*, thought it might be a great Prejudice to his Maſteſty's Affairs, to be left by ſo many at once; and that if he wholly gave over, at the ſame time, it would look like entering into a Faction with Perſons who were only diſpleas'd with the preſent Scene, upon hopes of entering ſoon upon another; which was no part of his deſigns: Therefore he reſolv'd to go again to Council, to ſhew he had not herded with thoſe that had left it; and that his leaving it too might not occaſion ſome Men's greater Diſtaſtes at the Government. This the Lord *Sunderland* took ſo kindly, that by his help Sir *William* came to an Iſſue in the moſt difficult Point of his Buſineſs in the Treasury.

Not many days after, the Earl of *Sunderland* acquainted Sir *William*, that Mr. Secretary *Coventry* being abſolutely reſolv'd to part with his Place, and the King having found Sir *William* had long declin'd it, had now thoughts of conſenting to Sir *Lionel Jenkins's* coming into it; but that his Maſteſty would do nothing without firſt letting Sir *William* know his thoughts: and ask'd, *Whether he had any thing to ſay upon it?* Sir *William* made no ſtop in the World, but told his Lordſhip, ' That the King ' could do nothing for him that he would take kinder ' than this; that he had ſeveral times preſs'd his ' Maſteſty to a new choice; and once offer'd to name ' ſome to him that he knew were fit for it: That ' he had reſolv'd againſt it ſo long, that his Maſteſty had no reaſon to remember any of his Engagements to him, how voluntary ſoever; but that

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he was pleas'd to do it, was the most obliging in the World; and he was resolv'd immediately to go and make him his Acknowledgments.' Sir William did so; they were extremely well taken; the King us'd him with great Kindness; and Sir Lionel Jenkins came into the Secretary's Office on the 11th of February.

Sir William Temple pass'd the remaining part of the Winter in Town, tho with much Indisposition, going sometimes to the Council, and sometimes to the foreign Committee, but not frequently to either; and meddling very little with any thing that pass'd there, unless it was what concern'd the Affairs of Ireland. The Duke of Ormond, Lord Lieutenant of that Kingdom, having transmitted several Bills over to the Council here, in order to be pass'd in a Parliament there, this brought the Earl of Essex again into play, after so much Discontent and so little Attendance, for some Months, at the Council. His Eye and Heart having ever been bent upon his Return to the Government of Ireland, his Lordship steer'd wholly by that Compass, and pursu'd Court or Popular Humour as he thought either likeliest to further his End: And whenever the Irish Acts came into Council, he was sure to be there; first raising Difficulties in the particular Acts, and arraigning not only the Prudence, but common Sense of the Lord Lieutenant and Council there: Then arguing against the ASSEMBLING a PARLIAMENT in that Kingdom; and at last introducing Sir James Sheen to make Proposals of increasing the King's Revenue there eighty Thousand Pounds a Year, upon a new Farm to himself and the Company he offer'd to be join'd with him. This Scheme was ever supported by the Lord Essex, and ever oppos'd by Sir William Temple with more sharpness than was usual to him upon any Debates; because he * had

* Ubi supra, p. 102.

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found out the Cheat of the whole thing; and that this Farm, as it was drawn out, was not of the Revenue, but of the Crown of Ireland. Mr. Hyde, who was at the head of all matters concerning the King's Revenue, had embrac'd this Proposal very warmly, and his Patronage in Council gave great strength to the Debates upon it; being little oppos'd, but by Sir Lionel Jenkins and Sir William: But the latter laid the matter so bare, that it drew out into length that whole Spring; and the King went so far into Sir William's Opinion, that when it was to come to Council or Committee, his Majesty sent particularly to him to be there. This Account we have from Sir William Temple himself: But it is not improbable that his Warmth in this Business was partly owing both to his intire Devotion to the Duke of Ormond, and his late Pique to the Earl of Essex: For Sir William Temple was not so much a Philosopher, as to be intirely divested of Passions; and, of all Passions, he was most subject to Spleen and Resentment of Injuries receiv'd, which, indeed is the most general of all human Frailties.

Upon the Motions of this Affair, Sir William grew into more Attendance upon the King, and more Commerce with the Lord Sunderland and Mr. Hyde: But continuing still his Resolutions, to wind himself out of all publick Business, and to that end talking often to them of his design to make a Journey to Florence, both upon occasion of his Health, and Promise to the Great Duke of Tuscany; hereupon they both propos'd to him, if he had a mind to go into a hot Country, to go into Spain, and do it with a Character from the King, who was likely to have Affairs there; rather than make a Journey, like young Gentlemen, only to see the Country. Sir William told them, he was unwilling to charge himself again with the Fatigue of an Embassy, or to run again the Hazard he had done

so often already, of being undone by those Employments: That if he could resolve upon it, he did not see what Affairs the King could have in *Spain*, whilst he had such as he seem'd to have at present in *England*; nor could he see what use any Leagues or Measures Abroad would be to his Majesty, *unless some Union at Home would enable him to support them.* The Ministers were mighty earnest to engage Sir *William* in this Embassy, upon a belief that a stricter Alliance with *Spain* would conduce to a good Session of Parliament; and that Sir *William's* charging himself with the Management of it, would give a general Opinion, both at Home and Abroad, of our *Sincerity* in it. The King seem'd very desirous of his undertaking it: and tho Sir *William* declin'd it a good while, having no Opinion *the thing had a good Root*, or that it would have the Effect hoped for upon the next Meeting of Parliament; yet, at last, he brought it to this Point, That he would not charge himself with going to make the intended Alliance; but if his Majesty should think fit to conclude it here with the *Spanish* Ambassador, he would be content to go and cultivate it in *Spain*. This was done * by the Ministers; and the King having on the 7th of *August* 1680, declar'd him his Ambassador-Extraordinary to *Spain*, Sir *William* pass'd his Privy-Seal; receiv'd his Equipage, and spent the latter end of the Summer in the Preparations for his Journey. These were finish'd about the middle of *September*, when the King told him, that since the Parliament drew so near, and so much depended upon it, of all that concern'd him either Abroad or at Home, he was resolv'd to stay him, at least till the opening of it; by which they should judg of the farther Progress.

Upon the Duke of *York's* returning from *Scotland*,

* June 23. 1680.

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the Duke of *Monmouth* came out of *Holland*, without leave, and so came not to Court; whereby he seem'd to make himself the Head of those that were discontented, either with the Duke's Return, or the Intermission of Parliament. In acting this part, he was guided by Lord *Shaftsbury*, who resolv'd to blow up the Fire as high as he could this Summer, so as to make the Necessity the greater of the Parliament's sitting: And because *Boldness looks like Strength* *, to encourage his Party with an Opinion of both, he engag'd several Lords, and among them the Lord *Russel*, to go with him to *Westminster-Hall* publickly, and there, at the *King's-Bench*, to present the Duke as a *Popish Recusant*. Tho the matter had no Consequences in the Forms of the Court, yet it had a general one upon the Minds of the People, and a strong one on the Passions of all those who were so publickly engag'd in this bold step against the Duke; which was breaking all Measures with him. The Lord *Essex*, who had pursu'd his return to the Government of *Ireland*, began to let the Business of Sir *James Sheen* cool, and to reckon upon laying a surer Foundation for that design, from the Credit he intended to gain in the approaching Parliament. Upon this, he began to fall into new Commerce with the Earl of *Shaftsbury*; who told him, *My Lord, if you will come in, never trouble your self, we'll make you Lieutenant of Ireland*: and the way to his return, was to oppose the Duke of *York's* stay during the Session of Parliament. The Lord *Hallifax*, tho he fell not in with the Lord *Shaftsbury*, yet was glad to make fair Weather against the Parliament met, by his oppositions to the Duke. The Earl of *Sunderland* was struck with the Boldness of the Lords *Presentment* in *Westminster-Hall*, and the Consequence of such Men being desperately engag'd in an At-

* *Sir W. Temple's Memoirs*, Part III. p. 112.

tempt wherein they were like to be seconded by the Humour of the Nation, upon the just Alarms of *Popery*; which made him conclude, the King would not be able to support the Duke any longer: And he believ'd his Majesty himself was of the same mind. Mr. *Godolphin* fell into the same Thoughts: so as upon the Debate in Council, concerning the Duke's stay, or going back to *Scotland* before the Parliament met, these four join'd absolutely in the Reasons for his going away. And tho the rest of the Council were generally of the contrary Opinion, yet the King fell in with these Four, and concluded the thing against the Duke's Will and his Friends. Sir *William Temple* had no share in that Debate; for during these Transactions he was in the Country, with his Thoughts wholly turn'd upon his Preparations for the *Spanish* Embassy; and he was the willinger to be there, upon the Resolution he had long been fix'd in, *never to enter into any Differences or Personal Matters between the King and his Brother.*

On the 22d of *October* the Duke of *York* set out for *Scotland*, and the next Day the Parliament began, with the general Knowledg of so many great Persons having appear'd so publickly against his Royal Highness in *Westminster-Hall*, and so considerable ones in the Court it self, and at the Council-Board. The House of Commons met with such a Bent upon the chief of their home Concerns, that the name of any thing foreign would not be allow'd among them: nay, the mention of *Spanish Leagues*, Alliances with *Holland*, and Measures intended by the King with other Confederates, were laugh'd at as *Court-Tricks, too stale to pass any more.* Hereupon they fell downright upon a Point invincible, which was the BILL OF EXCLUSION, wherein the most considerable of Lords and Commons were engag'd, not only upon Opinion of *National Ends*, but likewise upon that of *Self-Preservation*, having

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broken irreparably all Measures already with the Duke. And the generality of the Commons were carry'd, partly with the Plausibleness of the thing, calculated in appearance only against Popery; and partly with the Opinion of the King's Resolution to fall into it. All the Duke of *Monmouth's* Friends drove it on violently, not doubting but he would lie in the Duke's place, tho no Provision seem'd to be made for that in the Forms of the Draught: And all these Circumstances concurring, made so violent a Torrent for carrying on this Bill, as nothing could resist, or any ways divert; and, as it generally happens, the small Opposition made by two or three Men, made the Violence the greater. Besides these general Circumstances, there were two more particular, that seem'd to have great Influence upon the House; one was, the Lord *Russel* setting himself at the head of this Affair, he being generally known to be an honest worthy Gentleman, without *Tricks* or private Ambition; and, at the same time, to venture as great a Stake, perhaps, as any Subject of *England*: The other was Sir *William Jones* entring upon it so desperately as he did, the first day he came into the House; and he being a Person of great Virtue and Piety, and having the name of the greatest Lawyer of *England*, and commonly of a very wise Man; besides this, of a very rich, and of a wary, or rather timorous Nature; made People generally conclude that the thing was certain and safe, and would, at last, be agreed on all parts, whatever Countenance were made at Court.

Thus the Bill pass'd the House of Commons, and was carry'd up by the Lord *Russel* to the House of Lords, where it met with another kind of Reception. The King was resolv'd, and declar'd against the Bill: And tho the Lords *Shaftsbury*, *Essex*, and about fifteen more were violently for it, yet the rest of the House were firm and positive against it;
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among whom the Lord *Hallifax* appear'd most at the head of all Debates : and so it was, after long Contest, absolutely thrown out. This inrag'd the House of Commons, who having fail'd of the only thing they seem'd to have at heart, fell upon Heats against the Government and Ministers, not without some glancing at the King; engag'd, first, in the pursuit of the Lord *Stafford* to the Block, upon the Score of the Plot; and then in Addresses, either upon general Discontents in the Publick Affairs, or upon common Fame against particular Persons. This was return'd with Heats at Court by those Ministers that were chiefly touch'd: which were the Lord *Hallifax*, who, by a sudden Turn, had, at the beginning of the Session, fallen into the open Defence of the Duke's Interest; and Mr. *Hyde*, who by his Relation to the Duke, and by his Education wholly at Court, was ever first in that Point.

During the whole Proceedings of this Session of Parliament, Sir *William Temple* acted a prudent and cautious part. It was some Days before he took his Place in the House of Commons, having been inrag'd in a disputed Election; and so soon as he saw the Bent of the House, the Violence with which it was carry'd, and the Distractions it was like to engage the Kingdom in, he gave over first all *Hopes*, and then all *Thoughts* upon so unpleasant a Theme. In the Business of the *Bill of Exclusion* he never meddled, nor so much as reason'd, either in or out of the House; having declar'd his Opinion to the King and his Ministers, that it was to no purpose to oppose it there; nor for the King to take notice of the Commons Address upon it, further than to let them know, that whenever any Bills or Addresses upon things of that nature were brought to him from both Houses, he would answer them. By this means Sir *William* thought the King was sure of his End; for the Bill would certainly fall as often as it came

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came into the House of Lords; and if his Majesty should be forc'd to dissolve the Parliament, it would be better done upon the invincible Difference between the two Houses, than upon any between his Majesty and the House of Commons: But this Opinion was not agreed to by the chief Ministers. After that, Sir *William* press'd both the King and them to bring such *Expedients* as, they told him, were resolv'd on; that so they might make all the strength they could to support them in the House of Commons, and thereby reduce things to some *Temper*: But these, tho daily talk'd of, never appear'd. Sir *William* went not often either to the House or Council; when he did, and thought it to any purpose, he endeavour'd to *allay the Heats on either side*; and told the King, *he expected to be turn'd out of the House in the Morning, and out of the Council in the Afternoon*. Mr. *Hyde* asking him one Day, in the Council-Chamber, why he came so seldom to *House or Council*, Sir *William* told him, 'Twas upon *Solomon's Advice*, neither to oppose the *Mighty*, nor go about to stop the *Current of a River*: Upon which Mr. *Hyde* said, *He (Sir William) was a wise and a quiet Man; and if it were not for some Circumstances he could not help, he would do so too*.

Sir *William* spoke seldom in the House: but upon the Motion of Supplies for *Tangier*, he made a remarkable Speech, relating both to that *Business*, and the Lords rejecting the *Bill of Exclusion*; which was as follows:

Mr. SPEAKER,

THIS Debate hath more of Weight in it than the *Business of Tangier*, I think. As *Affairs now stand*, the most part of *Christendom* is concern'd in it, I am sure all the *Protestants*; and therefore, I hope, your *Patience* will hold out, to have the whole *Circumstances of it* fairly examin'd: For the *Arguments that*
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have been offer'd in the Consideration of this Message, have enlarg'd the Debate further than was, at first, intended; and have brought the whole State of the Nation, in some measure, before you, instead of that one particular Business of Tangier: so that now what Resolve you make will be a discovery of your Inclinations, not only as to what you intend to do as to a Supply for Tangier, but as to giving Money for Alliances, and all other Occasions; upon which Result the good or bad Success of this Parliament doth depend. As to Tangier, I do agree with that worthy Member that spoke before (tho many are of a different Opinion) that it is not of any great Use to us, upon the account of any Advantage we shall make by it: But, however, I think it is very well worth our keeping; because of the Disadvantages we should receive by it, if it should fall into the Hands either of the Turk or Spaniard, but especially the French; who will not only be thereby inabled to fetter us, as to our Trade in the Levant, but to curb also all other Nations whatsoever; and be such an Addition to the too great Power he hath acquir'd both by Sea and Land already, that I am of Opinion, we ought to be very cautious how we weaken the Security we now have, that it shall not fall into his Hands. But if the Mole and the Town could be blown into the Air, or otherwise reduc'd into its first Chaos, I think, considering the Charge it will cost keeping, England would not be much the worse for it: but to move you to consider any thing about that, at this time, cannot be proper, because the Moors have so besieg'd it, that the first thing that must be done, whether in order to keep it or destroy it, is, to beat them off by some speedy Supplies which must be presently sent; or else the Town, according to the best Information come from thence, is like to be lost. And, Sir, I think this single Consideration may be persuasive to move you to give some such Supply as may be precisely necessary for the Defence and Protection of this Place. A small Sum of Money, in
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comparison of what this House hath formerly given, may be sufficient to satisfy his Majesty's Expectation, and secure the Place too. But I must confess, Sir, it is not the Consideration of Tangier that makes me press you to it, but the deplorable State of the Protestants Abroad. Sir, I have had the Honour to serve his Majesty in some publick Employments, and by that means may be a little more sensible of the State of Affairs, in reference to our Neighbours, than others may be; having not only had the Advantage of Information, but was under a Necessity of using my best Endeavours to get a true Account of them. Sir, I am confident the Eyes of all Europe are upon this Parliament; and not only the Protestants Abroad, but many Catholick Countries (who stand in fear of the Power of France) do think themselves as much concern'd in the Success of this Parliament, as this House, and will be as much perplex'd to hear any ill News thereof. This, Sir, as well as the Necessities of our Affairs at Home, make me trouble you at this time, to desire you to be careful what you do, that we may not occasion in his Majesty any Dislike to this House. Whatever you do as to the Business of Money for Tangier, pray, Sir, let there be no notice taken in your Address, of the Lords having cast out your Bill; for we have no reason to think the King was any ways concern'd therein. To throw out a Bill of so great Importance, without a Conference, was, in my humble Opinion, very strange, and contrary to the usual Proceedings of that House. But pray, Sir, let it lie at their Doors that did it, for the King could not be concern'd in a Parliamentary way. For by this means we may obviate all Misunderstandings with his Majesty about this Affair, and, I hope, create in him a good Opinion of this House, upon which the Welfare, not only of this Nation, but of Europe, doth much depend. SIR, his Majesty in his Message puts you in mind of giving Advice, as well as Money; I think, if we make that Expression the ground of our Address, we may na-

turally graft very good things thereon; especially what may conduce to the Preservation of a fair Correspondence. Sir, Tho a King alone cannot save a Kingdom, yet a King alone can do very much to ruin it; and tho Parliaments alone cannot save this Kingdom, yet Parliaments alone may do much to ruin it. And therefore we cannot be too circumspect in what we do. It is our Fortune to sit here in a critical Time, when not only the Affairs of this Nation, but the Protestant Religion Abroad need our Countenance; and for the same reason we may justly fear, that there are those who endeavour to contrive the putting off this Parliament. I pray, Sir, let us not give them any Advantage, and then I doubt not but his Majesty's Care and Goodness will, at last, overcome all Difficulties, and bring this Session to a happy conclusion.

Sir William spoke also in the House upon the Digestion of the first Address about general Grievances; and in the cases of my Lord Chief Justice North, and my Lord Hallifax being impeach'd upon common Fame. At general Councils that were held in this critical Juncture, he never spoke unless it were upon the House of Commons Address against the Lord Hallifax, and upon a Debate about dissolving the Parliament; wherein *he desir'd the King and Council never to lay aside the Thoughts and Endeavours of agreeing either with this or some other Parliament, as a matter of so great Necessity to the State of his Majesty's Affairs, both Abroad and at Home.* The Lord Hallifax answer'd him in few words, That every body was sensible of the King's agreeing with his Parliaments, tho not with this: And Mr. (afterwards Sir Edward) Seymour, said, *He perfectly agreed with Sir William Temple.*

The last thing Sir William did, either in House or Council, was on the 4th of January, to carry the
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King's last Answer to the Commons Address of the 20th of December, containing his Majesty's Resolution never to consent to the Exclusion of the Duke of York. Mr. Secretary Jenkins had been charg'd with it the Night before, at Council; but he was thought too *unacceptable* to the House, it seems, for a Message that was like to prove so; and so, the next Morning, the King would have had either Sir Robert Carr or Mr. Godolphin have carry'd it. They both excusing themselves, the King sent for Sir William Temple, who told his Majesty, *He did not very well understand why a thing agreed upon last Night at Council-Table, should be alter'd in his Chamber; but that he was very willing, however, to obey him, and the rather upon others having excus'd themselves, and to shew his Majesty that he intended to play no popular Games.* Upon which he took the Paper, and told the King, that he was very sensible how much of his Confidence he formerly had, and how much he had lost, without knowing the Occasion, or else he might have had part in the consulting this Change of what was last Night resolv'd, as well as in executing it; and he would confess to his Majesty, that he had not so good a Stomach in Business as to be content only, with swallowing what other People had chew'd. This Answer is the only thing Sir William could imagine the King could ever take ill of him: And yet, adds he *, *I know not how it could be a Fault, more than in Point of Manners neither, or in the Homeliness of the Expression.*

Be that as it will, he carry'd the King's Message to the House, which was receiv'd just as was expected; and Sir William Jones, who had taken an Affection to Sir William Temple, being heartily sorry to see him employ'd in the delivery of so unacceptable an Answer, told him, *That for himself he was old and infirm, and expected to die soon; but you, said he*

* Ubi supra, p. 132.

in a prophetic Spirit, will in all probability live to see the whole Kingdom lament the Consequences of this Message you have now brought us from the King. When the Commons * took the King's Answer into Consideration, after long Debate, and a despair of any effectual Expedients, they resolv'd, First, That there was no Security nor Safety for the Protestant Religion, the King's Life, or Government of this Nation, without passing a Bill for disabling JAMES Duke of YORK to inherit the Imperial Crown of this Realm; and to rely upon any other Means and Remedies without such a Bill, was not only insufficient, but dangerous. 2dly. That his Majesty, in his last Message, having assur'd this House of his readiness in all other Means for the Preservation of the Protestant Religion, this House did declare, that until a Bill be likewise pass'd for excluding the Duke of YORK, this House could not give any Supply to his Majesty, without Danger to his Majesty's Person, extreme Hazard of the Protestant Religion, and Unfaithfulness to those by whom this House was intrusted. These Resolutions were follow'd by Votes of Addresses against several Persons; and the Heats still increasing, the King, on the 10th of January 1681, first prorogu'd the Parliament, and on the 18th dissolv'd it by Proclamation; declaring, he had given Orders for the Issuing out of Writs, for the calling of a new Parliament, which should begin and be holden at Oxford on the 21st of March following.

We must observe, in relation to the unlucky Message before-mention'd, that Sir William was of Opinion it should be, That when both Houses agreed upon an Address to that purpose, the King would give them an Answer; but till then, would suspend it, and not send a positive Answer to one House upon so weighty an Occasion, which, for ought his Majesty knew, might be contrary to the Sense of the other: By which means he would

* January 7.

be secure from the Necessity of any direct Breach with the Commons; since he knew well enough the Lords would not consent to the Address. That if this Parliament broke up on Disputes, it might yet be expected he would call another, and perhaps a third, and agree with some of them; by which alone he could be great and safe both at Home and Abroad. For it was between the King and his Parliament, as between the Mountain and Mahomet, who told the People what Miracles he would do when he was at the Top of the Mountain; and to that purpose he would, on such a Day, call it to him: He did so, but the Mountain would not come; whereupon he said, that if the Mountain would not come to Mahomet, he would go to the Mountain; for unless they both met, no Wonders could be done. The King seem'd pleas'd with all Sir William Temple said, and with the Comparison; but those of the Committee of the Council, who were chief in the private Measures taken at this time, were for a positive Answer to be given to the House of Commons, let them take it how they pleas'd. This compleated Sir William's Resolution of Recess from all publick Business; for he saw plainly, that both Parties who could agree in nothing else, yet did it in this one Point, of bringing things to the last Extremity. The Lord Shaftsbury and his Party thought the Points of popular Discontents, or at least, that of the King's Wants, would, at last, bring the Court to their Mercy, in one Parliament or other: And, on the other side, those Ministers who were past all Measures with the House of Commons, thought there was no way but by their Heats, to bring the King to a Dislike, and thereby to a Disuse of Parliaments: And by this likewise, the Duke's Interest seem'd at present only to be secur'd.

These Considerations could not, however, move the King to dissolve this Parliament without calling another at the same time. Whereupon the Heads of the University at Cambridge sent to Sir William Temple,

Temple, to know whether he intended to stand again for that Election? He went to the King to acquaint his Majesty with it, and know his Pleasure what Answer he should return them. The King seem'd at first indifferent, and bid him do what he would: But when Sir William said, *He was very indifferent too, and would do in it what his Majesty liked best;* his Majesty said, in a kind familiar manner, *That considering how things stood at this time, he doubted Sir William's coming into the House would not be able to do much good; and therefore he thought it as well for him to let it alone:* Which Sir William said, he would do. From the King he went to the Earl of Sunderland, and told him what had pass'd; which his Lordship took as the first certain Sign of his Majesty's having left off all Thoughts of agreeing with his Parliaments, and of his having taken his Measures another way for the Supply of his Treasury: Whereupon he said, in some Passion, *He now gave all for gone; and that he must confess Sir William knew the King better than he had done.* And so they parted.

A few Days after, Sir William went to Sheen, from whence he sent the King word, by his Son, *That he would pass the rest of his Life as good a Subject as any his Majesty had, but that he would never meddle any more with any Publick Affairs; and desir'd his Majesty would not be displeas'd with this Resolution.* The King very graciously bid him tell Sir William, *that he was not angry with him, no not at all.* Sir William had not been above a Week at Sheen, when my Lady Northumberland (who liv'd then at Sion) came to his Closet one Morning, and told him, that the Day before his Name was struck out of the Council, with those of the Earls of Sunderland and Essex; upon which Sir William made no Reflections nor Inquiries: tho many others seem'd much to wonder, and ask'd of him, what could be the reason of his
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being join'd with the other two Lords, whose Proceedings had been very different? The truth is, my Lord *Sunderland* was, during the last Session of Parliament, fallen under a great Displeasure of his Majesty: First, For his voting in the Lords House for the *Bill of Exclusion*, against the King's express Command; Secondly, Upon account of a Memorial sent over by Mr. *Sidney*, the King's Envoy at the *Hague*, and given him by the Pensioner *Fagel*, representing 'the sad Consequences Abroad of his Majesty's not agreeing with his Parliaments; the Danger of his Allies, and of the Protestant Religion; and thereupon, tho not directly, yet seeming to wish, that the King would not break with them, tho it were even upon the Point of the *Bill of Exclusion.*' Some of the Lords of the *Foreign Committee* believ'd it a thing directed and advis'd from hence by my Lord *Sunderland* to Mr. *Sidney* his Uncle, as a matter that would be of weight to induce the King to pass the Bill: But, besides that the Lord *Sunderland* protested to Sir *William Temple*, that he knew nothing of it till he receiv'd a Copy from Mr. *Sidney*, who sent the Original to the Secretary; Sir *William* thought * his Lordship *could not understand the King so ill, as to believe that Memorial would be a Motive to him to pass the Bill, or that it could have any other Effect, than to anger him at the Dutch, for meddling in a matter that was Domestick, not only to the Nation, but to the Crown.* Besides, Sir *William* observ'd the Stile to be of one that understood little of our Constitution; which, together with the whole Cast of it, made him believe it came from the Pensioner *Fagel*, a Man of great Piety and Zeal in his Religion; mightily concern'd for all he thought would endanger it; and besides, of great Warmth and Suddenness in pursuing any Thought that pos-

* Ubi supra, p. 146.

fess'd him. However, the King, as well as some
 others, believ'd this was of my Lord *Sunderland's*
 Forge; and that many of the Heats in the House of
 Commons had been rais'd to such a height, by his
 seeming to encourage them: which they might
 think he would not do, unless he believ'd the King
 would at length comply with them. On the other
 hand, the Lord *Sunderland* was fallen into an out-
 rageous Quarrel with the Lord *Hallifax*, not only
 upon their dividing in the Affairs of the Parliament
 and Council; but likewise upon the Lord *Sunder-*
land's entring into new Commerce and Measures with
 the Duke of *Monmouth* and Earl of *Shaftsbury*:
 Which last was also the reason of the Earl of *Essex's*
 removal. How Sir *William Temple* came to be join'd
 with these two Lords, by the King's ordering their
 Names to be struck out of the Council-Book at the
 same time, he neither knew nor ever could assign
 any Reason; unless it were what was commonly
 guess'd, of his being a FRIEND to the PRINCE
 of ORANGE, or of my Lord *Sunderland*. Sir *Wil-*
liam conjectur'd also rightly enough, that as my
 Lord *Salisbury* had been struck out some Days before,
 upon having declar'd at Council that he would come
 there no more; so the King and his Ministers
 might think, that upon Sir *William's* having taken
 the same Resolution, as to that and all publick
 Affairs, (tho signify'd only in private to his Ma-
 jesty, and with all the good Manners that could
 be) yet it would be better for the King's Affairs
 that Sir *William* should be known to be put out
 of the Council, than to have quitted it of him-
 self. Nor was this Resolution of Sir *William*
 taken in any Heat or Rashness, but upon the
 best Considerations and Knowledg he had gain'd,
 both of the World and of himself: For having
 long serv'd in *Courts* and *Publick Affairs*, he plain-
 ly discover'd that he was, at his Age, and in the
 present

present Conjunctions, fit for neither one nor t'other.
 ' He found * the Arts of a Court were contrary
 ' to the Frankness and Openness of his Nature,
 ' and the Constraints of publick Business too great
 ' for the Liberty of his Humour and his Life. The
 ' common and proper Ends of both, are the Ad-
 ' vancement of Men's Fortunes, and that he never
 ' minded; having as much as he needed, and which
 ' is more, as he desir'd. The Talent of gaining
 ' Riches he ever despis'd; as observing it to be-
 ' long to the most despicable Men in other kinds:
 ' and he had the occasions of it so often in his way,
 ' if he would have made use of them, that he grew
 ' to disdain them, as a Man does Meat that he has
 ' always before him. He knew very well the Arts
 ' of a Court are, *to talk the present Language, to*
 ' *serve the present Turn, and to follow the present*
 ' *Humour of the Prince*, whatever it is; of all which
 ' he found himself so incapable, that he could not
 ' talk a *Language he did not mean, nor serve a Turn*
 ' *he did not like, nor fellow any Man's Humour wholly,*
 ' *against his own.* Besides, he had had, in twenty
 ' Years, Experience enough of the *Uncertainty* of
 ' Princes, the *Caprice* of Fortune, the *Corruption* of
 ' *Ministers*, the *Violence* of *Factions*, the *Unsteddi-*
 ' *ness* of *Counsels*, and the *Infidelity* of *Friends*; nor
 ' did he think the rest of his Life enough to make
 ' any new Experiments.

' As he never enter'd into publick Business by his
 ' own † choice or pursuit, but was always call'd into
 ' it by the King or his Ministers, so he never made
 ' the common use of it, by ever asking either
 ' Money, Lands, or Honour, of his Majesty; tho
 ' he || was often urged to it by his Friends, and

* See his *Memoirs*, Part III. p. 169.

† *Memoirs*, Part III. p. 122.

|| See his *Letters*, Vol. I. p. 194, 344.

' invited by so great degrees of Confidence and
 ' Favour as he stood in with his Majesty, both of-
 ' ten and long. He never had his Heart set upon
 ' any thing in publick Affairs, but the Happiness
 ' of his Country, and Greatness of the Crown;
 ' and in order to that, the Union of both, by which
 ' alone he thought both could be atchiev'd. When
 ' he fell first into a Despair of this, he fell first
 ' into a Distaste of all publick Affairs; and this
 ' was nourish'd by a Course of Accidents and Turns
 ' of Court, and Personal Inconstancies or Infidelities,
 ' which gave him *unexpressible Vexation and Trouble*:
 ' For he knew very well, that all the Safety of *Flan-*
 ' *ders* depended in the Union of his Majesty with
 ' his Parliament, which might enable him to make
 ' such a Figure in Christendom as the Crown of
 ' *England* had done, and *ought always to do.*'

That great Statesman in his consummate Wis-
 dom, consider'd the World in the present Posture
 of Affairs, both Abroad and at Home: 'I knew,
 ' *says he* *, very well the great Designs of *France*,
 ' whereof the Plan was drawn by Cardinal RICHE-
 ' LIEU, for the Conquest of *Flanders*, and that
 ' part of *Germany* which lies on this side of the
 ' *Rhine*. How, upon this View, he had seiz'd *Lor-*
 ' *rain*, and engag'd in a War with *Spain*. How he
 ' practis'd the *Dutch* into a Treaty, for the *Divi-*
 ' *sion* of *Flanders* between them; till the States soon
 ' found the false Pace they had made, by an Agree-
 ' ment to share with the *Lion*; who thereupon
 ' would be soon Master, both of the *Prey*, and of
 ' them. Hereupon, they broke off this Confede-
 ' racy, quitted the *French* in the midst of so great
 ' Success, and had thereby almost occasion'd the
 ' Ruin of the *French* Army at *Tirlemont*. I knew
 ' by Tradition, from a noble Family, how that Car-

* *Memoirs*, Part III. p. 151. & seq.

'dinal had sent a private Emissary, to endeavour
 'the same Measures with King CHARLES the First;
 'or, at least, for his being *Passive* in their Conquest
 'of *Flanders*. How that King had refus'd the first,
 'and being press'd upon the other, had answer'd
 'resolutely, that he would never suffer the Conquest
 'of *Flanders*; and if the *French* attempted it, he
 'would march himself in Person to defend it. Upon
 'this Answer, the Cardinal reply'd to the Gentle-
 'man that brought it, *L' a t'il dit? Par Dieu, il*
 '*me le payera bien* [*Did he say so? by G—d I'll*
 '*make him pay dear for it:*] and thereupon entred
 'immediatly into Practices with some discontented
 'Nobles of *Scotland*, then at *Paris*; sent over two
 'hundred Thousand Pistoles to others in that King-
 'dom, and gave thereby a beginning to the first
 'Troubles that were rais'd there. From which
 'time, THE BUSINESS OF FRANCE has ever
 'been to foment all DIVISIONS OF ENGLAND,
 'whose Interest they saw would be ever to cross
 'their great Design. However, Cardinal MAZA-
 'RIN, after having surmounted his own Dangers
 'in *France*, and the Difficulties incident to a Mino-
 'rity, pursu'd the Plan left him by his Predecessor;
 'and by his Measures taken with CROMWELL,
 'and the Assistance of an immortal Body of six
 'Thousand brave *English*, which were by Agree-
 'ment to be continually recruited, he made such
 'a Progress in *Flanders*, that CROMWELL soon
 'found the Ballance turn'd, and grown too heavy
 'on the *French* side: Whereupon he dispatch'd a
 'Gentleman privately to *Madrid*, to propose there
 'a change of his Treaty with *France* into one with
 '*Spain*, by which he would draw his Forces over
 'into their Service, and make them ten Thousand
 'to be continually recruited; upon Condition, their
 'first Action should be to besiege *Calais*, and when
 'taken, to put it into his hands. The Gentle-
 'man

‘ man sent upon this Errand was past the *Pyrenees*,
 ‘ when he was overtaken by the News of *Crom-*
 ‘ *well's* Death: whereupon *Mazarin* having not only
 ‘ lost his strongest Support in *Flanders*, but observ’d
 ‘ how that Design would never be serv’d by any
 ‘ Measures he could take in *England*, however it
 ‘ should be govern’d by the *most Legal* or *most Usurp’d*
 ‘ Powers, he resolv’d upon a Peace with *Spain*; and
 ‘ made it at the *Pyrenees*, against the general Sense,
 ‘ both of the chief Persons in the Court and Army;
 ‘ but particularly, against the Instances of Monsieur
 ‘ *Turenne*, who engag’d himself to conquer all that
 ‘ was left of *Flanders* in two Campaigns more: But
 ‘ some Domestick Reasons prevail’d with the Car-
 ‘ dinal, besides his Age and great Infirmities, which
 ‘ ended his Life, not long after the Peace was made.
 ‘ The *present King*, left in full Peace with all his
 ‘ Neighbours, in the flower of his Youth, and in-
 ‘ structed in the School of so able a Minister, began
 ‘ to pursue the great Design, by the three Paces most
 ‘ necessary to advance it; which were, The *wise*
 ‘ *Management of his Revenue*, and heaping up a Mass
 ‘ of Treasure: The Increase of his *Naval Force*, by
 ‘ building many great Ships, and buying others from
 ‘ the *Dutch*; and by the *Purchase of Dunkirk* in the
 ‘ Year 1662, without which he could not have as-
 ‘ pir’d to the Conquest of *Flanders*, or to his
 ‘ Greatness at Sea; having *no other Haven upon the*
 ‘ *Channel*. After this, *by fomenting* on both sides
 ‘ the *Seeds of Dissension between us and the Dutch*,
 ‘ which were sprung from other cover’d Roots,
 ‘ he saw us engag’d in a War with *Holland* in 1665,
 ‘ and with such *Honour and Successes*, that the *Dutch*
 ‘ would soon have been forc’d to a Peace, had not
 ‘ *France* first assisted them at Land against the Bishop
 ‘ of *Münster*; and then declar’d War against us, and
 ‘ set out his Fleet for assisting the *Dutch*. This
 ‘ made the War more equally ballanc’d, and there-
 ‘ by

by last ; till *France* taking Advantage at our Division,
invaded *Flanders* ; and by a Surprize of the un-
prepar'd *Spaniards*, in two Campaigns carry'd the
most considerable frontier Places on both sides, as
Douay, Lisle, Tournay, on the one side, *Charleroy*
and *Aeth* on the other ; by which they left the
rest of *Flanders* at the mercy of another Campaign.
The *Dutch* were alarm'd at these Successes of so
mighty a Neighbour, so near their own Doors ; and
we were spited at the *French* having declar'd War
against us, in favour of *Holland*, contrary to our
expectations ; and both together contributed to
the Peace at *Breda* in the end of the Year 1667,
and to our Leagues with *Holland*, with the *Triple*
Alliance in 1668, for Defence of the *Spanish Ne-*
therlands. Upon our Peace with *Holland*, *France*
stop'd their Career in *Flanders*, and made Over-
tures of Peace with *Spain* ; by the Offer of an *Al-*
ternative, either to retain their Conquests in *Flan-*
ders, or else the whole County of *Burgundy*. We
and *Holland* forc'd *Spain* to accept one of them ;
and the *Spaniards* spited at this Hardship upon
them, from Neighbours, who, they thought, had
as much Interest as they to preserve *Flanders*, chose
the worst ; which was, to leave the Frontier of
Flanders in the *French* Hands, on purpose to give
us and *Holland* the greater Jealousy of *France*, and
in hopes thereby to ingage us all in a War with
that Crown. And upon these Terms the Peace
was made at *Aix-la-Chapelle* in 1668. After this,
France turn'd all their Counsels to break the Mea-
sures between us and *Holland*, which gave a stop
to their great Design. The *Dutch* were stanch,
but we gave way by the Corruption of our Ministers,
and the *French* Practices upon the Dispositions of
our Court ; which, at length, engag'd us in a
joint War of both Crowns upon *Holland* in 1672,
to the Amazement of all Men, both Abroad and
at

' at Home, and almost to the utter Ruin of that
 ' State; till the Empire and *Spain*, rous'd by the
 ' Danger of *Holland*, which must have ended in that
 ' of *Flanders*, and all the *German* Provinces on this
 ' side the *Rhine*, enter'd boldly into the War, for
 ' the Assistance of the *Dutch*: which gave them
 ' some Breath, and carry'd the Scene of the War
 ' into *Flanders* and *Germany*. At the same time
 ' the *Discontents* of the People and Parliament at the
 ' War, and the Necessity of declaring it against
 ' *Spain* as well as *Holland*, if we continu'd longer
 ' in it, prevail'd with the King to make a separate
 ' Peace with *Holland* in 1673, and to offer his Media-
 ' tion to all the Parties engag'd in the War; which
 ' ended in the Treaty of *Nimeguen*, and at last in a
 ' Peace there, concluded in 1678: whereby a Fron-
 ' tier was left to the *Spanish-Netherlands* on the
 ' *Brabant* side, by the Restitution of *Aeth* and *Char-*
 ' *leroy*, to satisfy the *Dutch*. But all that remain'd
 ' on the side of *Flanders*, after the Peace of *Aix*, as
 ' *Cambray*, *Aire*, *St. Omer*, with many others taken
 ' by *France* in the last War, were by this Treaty
 ' left in their Possession; besides great Pretences by
 ' Dependencies, both in *Flanders* and *Alsace*; so as
 ' *Flanders* was left at their mercy, whenever *We*
 ' or *Holland* should abandon its Defence. And,
 ' finding both Nations, in general, but too sensible
 ' of our Interest on that side, the Council of *France*
 ' began new Practices upon our Court; wherein they
 ' were encourag'd by our Factions, and the Necessi-
 ' ties of Money into which they had drawn the
 ' King. These were the Progresses which *France*
 ' had made in their great Design, by two Wars and
 ' two general Treaties of Peace; whereof that at
 ' *Nimeguen* seem'd more victorious than their Arms
 ' had been: But they had made another, yet more
 ' important than either, by their Practices upon
 ' the Elector and Chapter of *Cologne*; having gain'd
 ' the

the Majority of Voices there for the Succession of Prince *William* of *Furstemberg* to that Principality, whenever the present Elector should fail; who is Old and Infirm, and has for some Years past deceiv'd the World by living so long. Prince *William*, tho a *German*, yet having long devoted himself to the *French Interests*, and been *Refuged* and *Supported by that Crown*, against the Indignation and Revenge of the Emperor, is as much a *Frenchman* as any Bishop of that Kingdom; so as whenever he comes to the Electorate, *France* will be absolute Master of that Principality; and thereby cast *Shackles*, not only upon the other Princes of the *Rhine*, but upon *Holland* too, both by cutting off their Trade upon the *Rhine*, and by bordering upon their inland Provinces, which are most expos'd and hard to be defended. After this, *Holland* must be left to take what Measures they can with *France*, and become at best a Maritime Province to that Crown; tho, perhaps, under the Name of a *Free-State*, (for fear of Dis-peopling their Country) but with such *Dependance*, as will leave *France* the Use, both of their Ships and Money, upon Occasion, in other parts. Whenever this happens, what Condition *England* will be left in, upon such an Increase of the *French* Territory, and Land, as well as Naval-Power, is easy to conjecture, but hard how it can be prevented, otherwise than by our VIGOROUS CONJUNCTION OF COUNSELS, AS WELL AS INTERESTS with all the LATE CONFEDERATES; and by a FIRM UNION BETWEEN THE COURT AND THE NATION upon one common Bottom, both at Home and Abroad; and chiefly for the Preservation of *Flanders* against the *French* Designs. I easily discover'd how fit a Posture we were in to engage in such Resolutions: The Nation divided into two strong Factions, with

' the greatest Heats and Animosities, and ready to
 ' break out into Violence upon the first Occasion.
 ' The Heads on both sides desiring it, as grown
 ' past all Temper or Composure. The King in-
 ' volv'd in such Necessities and Disorders of his Re-
 ' venue, as, if he could not hope Supplies from Parlia-
 ' ments, would throw him upon seeking them from
 ' France; which would end in such Measures with
 ' that Crown, as would leave them *at liberty* to
 ' pursue their great Design by new Attempts upon
 ' their Neighbours; who, without the Support of
 ' England, must give way, either by *weak Defences*
 ' or *submissive Treaties*. Upon the Survey of all
 ' these Circumstances, Conjunctures, and Disposi-
 ' tions, I concluded in cold Blood, that I could be
 ' of no further Use or Service to the King my Mas-
 ' ter, and my Country, whose true Interests I always
 ' thought were the same; and would be both in
 ' Danger when they came to be divided, and for
 ' that reason had ever endeavour'd the uniting
 ' them; and had compass'd it, if the Passions of
 ' some few Men had not lain fatally in the way, so
 ' as to raise Difficulties that I saw plainly were
 ' never to be surmounted. Therefore, upon the
 ' whole, I took that firm Resolution in the end of
 ' the Year 1680, and the Interval between the
 ' Westminster and Oxford Parliaments, never to
 ' charge my self more with any publick Employ-
 ' ments; but retiring wholly to a private Life, in
 ' that posture to take my Fortune with my Country,
 ' whatever it should prove: Which as no Man can
 ' judg, in the variety of Accidents that attend Hu-
 ' man Affairs, and the Chances of every Day, to
 ' which the greatest Lives, as well as Actions are
 ' subject; so I shall not trouble my self so much as
 ' to conjecture: *Fata viam invenient.*"

Thus Sir William Temple took his leave of those
 airy Visions, as he call'd them, which had so long

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busied his Head about *mending the World*; and at the same time, of all *those shining Toys or Follies that employ the Thoughts of Busy Men*; and turn'd his wholly to mend himself; and, as far as consists with a private Condition, still pursuing that excellent Counsel of *Pythagoras*, That we are, with all the *Cares and Endeavours of our Lives*, to avoid Diseases in the Body, Perturbations in the Mind, Luxury in Diet, Factions in the House, and Seditions in the State.

Nothing is more common than for Men, who live in the *Splendor and Hurry of Courts*, sometimes to wish for a *Retreat*, where they may ease themselves of the *Fatigue of State and Business*; yet they seldom retire, but when they can no longer stay: so that the Contempt of the Court is, in most Men, an Artifice of *Self-Love*, which endeavours to alleviate the Vexation of being excluded, by undervaluing Greatness, and those that are in Place. On the other hand, nothing is more difficult, for the generality of Men, who have liv'd in the *Pomp of Courts*, than to spend the Remainder of their Days in *Privacy and Retirement*: for few People have a sufficient Fond in themselves, to supply and fill up the Gap, which the want of *Business* leaves in their Minds. Neither of these Inconveniencies befel *Sir William Temple*: As his retiring from *Business* was voluntary, so his Contempt of *Greatness* was the Result of a thorow Knowledg of its *Emptiness and Vanity*; a Strain of which appears through all his Works. He knew there is nothing at Court but a perpetual Exchange of *false Friendship, pretended Honesty, seeming Confidence, and designing Gratitude*: So that a Man, who (as *Sir William* ever did) acts upon a *sincere Bottom*, and gives *Realities* instead of *Shews*, professes himself, and is accounted as great a *Bubble*, as one that should give good *Money*, where *Counterfeit* passes for current Payment. He had, by long Experience,

perience, made a true Estimate of the Advantages of a private Life, above those of a publick; and was thorowly convinc'd, that the Blessings of Innocence, Security, Meditation, good Air, Health, and sound Sleeps, are infinitely preferable to the Splendor of Courts; considering the *slavish Attendants*, the *invidious Competitions*, *servile Flattery*, and the *mortal Disappointments*, that go along with it. He set the Frowns of Princes, the Envy of those that judg by Hearsay, and the innumerable Temptations, Vices, and Excesses of a Life of Pomp and Pleasure, in ballance against the Smiles of bounteous Nature, the Diversion of all healthful Exercises for the Body, and the solid and lasting Entertainment of the Mind: And concluded, that he that's a Slave in the Town, is a kind of petty Prince in the Country. In short, he compar'd the Anxiety and Constraint of a Life spent in Formality and Tumult, with the Comfort and Delight of a Retreat with Competency and Freedom: And then casting up his Account, he resolv'd to take up with that Life which the greatest and wisest Men in the World have made choice of. Neither was Sir William Temple sensible of any *tedious Chasm*, nor did Time fall heavy upon his hands in his Retreat: For he did not properly *retire* from, but rather return and fix to his proper Business. And as in the height of his publick Employments, he still reserv'd and allotted for his private Study all the Leisure he could spare from the strict Discharge of his Duty, so now he only exchang'd the Fatigue of the latter, with the innocent Entertainments of a Country-Life; dividing his Time between his *Books* and his *Garden*; the *Improvement* of his *Mind*, and the *Culture* of his *Plants*.

His excellent Composures are so well known in the Commonwealth of Learning, that as it would swell these Sheets beyond the intended Bulk, so it were super-

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superfluous and needless to give a particular Account of them. I shall therefore content my self with giving the Reader the *Titles* of them, with the *Time* and *Occasion* of their *Publication*.

During his first Recess * from publick Affairs, Sir William Temple wrote a Treatise, which was publish'd towards the latter end of the Year 1672, with the Title of OBSERVATIONS upon the UNITED PROVINCES of the NETHERLANDS; to which he alludes, in a Letter † to Monsieur De Wicquefort, a particular Friend of his, who afterwards translated that very Treatise into French. If ever, says Sir William to him, any favourable Accident (and this Age produces strange ones enough) should bring you hither, I would let you see that our Buildings are not altogether without Neatness; At least I would make you confess, that the Fruits of my Garden have another Taste than those of my Closet, and will keep better than those of my Embassies.

Sir William Temple accounts for the Occasion and Design of his writing this Treatise, in a Preface prefix'd to it; wherein he occasionally lashes the Vices and Follies of that Reign, which we have liv'd to see unfortunately reviv'd in another.

‘ Having lately seen (says Sir William Temple) the
‘ State of the United Provinces, after a prodigious
‘ Growth in Riches, Beauty, Extent of Commerce,
‘ and Number of Inhabitants, arriv'd, at length,
‘ to such a height, (by the Strength of their
‘ Navies, their fortify'd Towns, and Standing-
‘ Forces, with a constant Revenue, proportion'd
‘ to the Support of all this Greatness) as made
‘ them the Envy of some, the Fear of others, and
‘ the Wonder of all their Neighbours; We have,
‘ this Summer past, beheld the same State, in the

* See above, pag. 182.

† See Sir W. Temple's Letters, Vol. II. p. 316.

' midst of great appearing Safety, Order, Strength,
 ' and Vigour, almost ruin'd and broken to pieces,
 ' in some few Days, and by very few Blows; and re-
 ' duc'd in a manner to its first Principles of Weak-
 ' ness and Distress; expos'd, oppress'd, and very
 ' near at Mercy. Their Inland Provinces swallow'd
 ' up by an Invasion, almost as sudden, and unre-
 ' sist'd as the Inundations to which the others are
 ' subject. And the Remainders of their State ra-
 ' ther kept alive by Neglect, or Disconcert of its
 ' Enemies, than by any Strength of Nature, or En-
 ' deavours at its own Recovery. Now, because
 ' such a Greatness, and such a Fall of this State,
 ' seem Revolutions unparallel'd in any Story, and
 ' hardly conceiv'd, even by those who have lately
 ' seen them; I thought it might be worth an idle
 ' Man's time, to give some account of the Rise and
 ' Progress of this Commonwealth; the Causes of
 ' their Greatness; and the Steps towards their Fall:
 ' Which were all made by Motions, perhaps little
 ' taken notice of by common Eyes, and almost
 ' undiscernable to any Man, that was not plac'd to
 ' the best Advantage, and something concern'd, as
 ' well as much inclin'd, to observe them. The
 ' usual Duty of Employments abroad, impos'd not
 ' only by Custom, but by Orders of State, made
 ' it fit for me to prepare some formal Account of
 ' this Country and Government, after two Years
 ' Embassy, in the midst of great Conjunctions and
 ' Negotiations among them. And such a Revolu-
 ' tion as has since happen'd there, tho it may have
 ' made these Discourses little important to his Ma-
 ' jesty, or his Council; yet it will not have ren-
 ' der'd them less agreeable to common Eyes, who,
 ' like Men that live near the Sea, will run out
 ' upon the Cliffs to gaze at it in a Storm, tho they
 ' would not look out of their Windows to see it in
 ' a Calm. Besides, at a time, when the Actions of

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' this Scene take up so generally the Eyes and Dis-
 ' courses of their Neighbours, and the Maps of
 ' their Country grow so much in request; I thought
 ' a Map of their State and Government would not
 ' be unwelcome to the World, since it is full as
 ' necessary as the others, to understand the late
 ' Revolutions and Changes among them. And as
 ' no Man's Story can be well written till he is dead,
 ' so the Account of this State could not be well given
 ' till its Fall, which may justly be dated from the
 ' Events of last Summer, (whatever Fortunes may
 ' further attend them) since therein we have seen the
 ' sudden and violent Dissolution of that more Popu-
 ' lar Government, which had continu'd, and made so
 ' much noise, for above Twenty Years, in the World,
 ' without the Exercise, or Influence, of the Authority
 ' of the Princes of *Orange*; a Part so Essential in the
 ' first Constitutions of their State. Nor can I
 ' wholly lose my Pains in this Adventure, when I
 ' shall gain the Ease of answering this way, at
 ' once, those many Questions I have lately been us'd
 ' to, upon this occasion: Which made me first ob-
 ' serve, and wonder, how ignorant we were, gene-
 ' rally, in the Affairs and Constitutions of a Coun-
 ' try, so much in our Eye, the common Road of
 ' our Travels, as well as Subject of our Talk; and
 ' which we have been of late, not only curious, but
 ' concern'd to know. I am very sensible, how ill
 ' a Trade it is to write, where much is ventur'd,
 ' and little can be gain'd; since whoever does it ill,
 ' is sure of Contempt; and the justliest that can
 ' be, when no Man provokes him to discover his
 ' own Follies, or to trouble the World: If he
 ' writes well, he raises the Envy of those Wits that
 ' are possess'd of the Vogue, and are jealous of their
 ' Preferment there, as if it were in Love, or in
 ' State; and have found, that the nearest way to
 ' their own Reputation lies, right or wrong, by
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' the Derision of other Men. But, however, I am
 ' not in Pain; for 'tis the Affectation of Praise
 ' that makes the Fear of Reproach: and I write
 ' without other Design, than of entertaining very
 ' idle Men; and, among them, my self. For I
 ' must confess, that being wholly usefess to the Pub-
 ' lick, and unacquainted with the Cares of in-
 ' creasing Riches, (which busy the World) being
 ' grown cold to the Pleasures of younger or livelier
 ' Men; and having ended the Entertainments of
 ' Building and Planting, (which use to succeed
 ' them;) finding little Taste in common Conver-
 ' sation, and Trouble in much Reading, from the
 ' Care of my Eyes, (since an Illness contracted by
 ' many unnecessary Diligences in my Employments
 ' abroad) there can hardly be found an idler Man
 ' than I; nor consequently, one more excusable, for
 ' giving way to such Amusements as this: Having
 ' nothing to do but to enjoy the Ease of a private
 ' Life and Fortune, which, as I know no Man
 ' envies, so (I thank God) no Man can reproach.
 ' I am not ignorant, that the Vein of Reading
 ' never ran lower than in this Age; and seldom
 ' goes farther than the Design of raising a Stock to
 ' furnish some Calling or Conversation. The De-
 ' sire of Knowledg being either laugh'd out of
 ' Doors, by the *Wit* that pleases the Age, or beaten
 ' out by Interest that so much possesses it: And the
 ' Amusement of Books, giving way to the Liber-
 ' ties or *Refinements* of *Pleasure*, that were formerly
 ' less known, or less avow'd, than now. Yet some
 ' there will always be found in the World, who
 ' ask no more at their idle Hours, than to forget
 ' themselves: and whether that be brought about
 ' by Drink or Play, by Love or Business, or by some
 ' Diversions, as idle as this, 'tis all a case. Be-
 ' sides, it may possibly fall out, at one time or
 ' other, that some *Prince*, or great *Minister*, may
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' not be ill pleas'd in these kind of *Memorials*, (upon
 ' such a Subject) to trace the Steps of Trade and
 ' Riches, of Order and Power in a State, and those
 ' likewise of *weak*, or *violent Counsels*; of *corrupt*,
 ' or *ill, Conduct*; of *Faction* or *Obstinacy*, which *de-*
 ' *cay and dissolve the firmest Governments*: That so,
 ' by Reflections upon foreign Events, they may
 ' provide the better and the earlier against those
 ' at home; and raise their own Honour and Hap-
 ' piness, by equal Degrees with the *Prosperity* and
 ' *Safety* of the *Nations* they govern. For, under
 ' Favour of those who would pass for *Wits* in our
 ' Age, by saying things, which *David* tells us,
 ' *The Fool said in his Heart*: and set up with bring-
 ' ing those Wares to Market, which (G O D knows)
 ' have been always in the World, tho kept up in
 ' Corners; because they us'd to mark their Owners,
 ' in former Ages, with the names of *Buffoons*, *Pro-*
 ' *fane*, or *Impudent Men*; who deride all *Form* and
 ' *Order*, as well as *Piety* and *Truth*; and, under the
 ' Notion of *Fopperies*, endeavour to dissolve the very
 ' Bonds of all *Civil Society*: tho by the Favour and
 ' Protection thereof, they themselves enjoy so much
 ' *greater Proportions* of *Wealth*, and of *Pleasures*, than
 ' would fall to their share, if all lay in common,
 ' as they seem to design, (for then such Possessions
 ' would belong of Right to the strongest and bravest
 ' among us:) Under favour of such Men, I believe
 ' it will be found, at one time or other, by all who
 ' shall try, that whilst Human Nature continues
 ' what it is, the same Orders in State, the same
 ' Discipline in Armies, the same *Reverence* for
 ' Things Sacred, and Respect of Civil *Institutions*;
 ' the same Virtues and Dispositions of Princes and
 ' Magistrates, deriv'd by Interest, or Imitation,
 ' into the Customs and Humours of the People,
 ' will ever have the same Effects upon the Strength
 ' and Greatness of all Governments; and upon the

' Honour and Authority of those that rule, as well
' as the Happiness and Safety of those that obey."

In the Year 1679. Sir William Temple publish'd, under the Title of MISCELLANEA, several Tracts he had written before. The Occasion of this Publication has already * been accounted for: And as for the time in which they were compos'd;
I. The SURVEY of the Constitutions and Interests of the Empire, Sweden, &c. was written in the Year 1671. II. The ESSAY on the Original and Nature of GOVERNMENT, in 1672. III. The ESSAY upon the Advancement of TRADE in Ireland, is dated from Dublin, July 22. 1673. and address'd to the Earl of Essex, Lord Lieutenant of that Kingdom. IV. The next ESSAY on the Conjuncture of Affairs, was written to the Duke of Ormond, in October 1673. upon his Grace's desiring Sir William Temple to give him his Opinion what was to be done, in that Conjuncture. V. The fifth ESSAY was written from Sheen the 29th of January 1674. to the Countess of Essex, upon her Grief occasion'd by the Loss of her only Daughter. And the VIth ESSAY upon the Cure of the Gour by Moxa, was written to Monsieur De Zulichem, and is dated from Nimeguen, June 18. 1677.

These Essays having been receiv'd with general Applause, and born several Impressions, Sir William publish'd, about seven Years after, a Second Part of his MISCELLANEA, which is thus inscrib'd to the University of Cambridge.

Alma Matri, Academiae Cantabrigiensi, has qualescumque Nugas, at rei Literariae non alienas D. D. Dq. Alumnus olim & semper Observantissimus, W. Temple.

* See above, p. 330.

Sir WILLIAM TEMPLE Bar. 379

And contains four ESSAYS. I. Upon Antient and Modern Learning. II. Upon the Gardens of Epicurus. III. Upon Heroick Virtue. IV. Upon Poetry.

In the ESSAY upon the Gardens of Epicurus, and upon Gardening in general, which was written in the Year 1685. Sir William gives us a genuine Account of his present Condition and Thoughts: 'I may perhaps be allow'd, * says he, to know something of this Trade, since I have so long allow'd my self to be good for nothing else; which few Men will do, or enjoy their Gardens, without often looking abroad, to see how other Matters play, what Motions in the State, and what Invitations they may hope for into other Scenes. For my own part, as the Country Life, and this part of it more particularly, were the Inclination of my Youth it self, so they are the Pleasure of my Age; and I can truly say, that among many great Employments that have fallen to my share, I have never ask'd, or sought for any one of them, but often endeavour'd to escape from them, into the Ease and Freedom of a private Scene; where a Man may go his own way, and his own Pace, in the common Paths or Circles of Life.

*Inter cuncta leges & percunctabere Doctos,
Quà ratione queas traducere leniter Ævum;
Quid Curas minuat; quid te tibi reddat amicum;
Quid purè tranquillet, honos an dulce Lucellum,
An secretum Iter, & fallentis Semita Vita.*

' But above all, the Learned read and ask,
' By what means you may gently pass your Age?
' What lessens Care? what makes thee thine own
(Friend?
' What truly calms the Mind, Honour or Wealth?
' Or else a private Path of stealing Life?

* *Miscellanea*, Part II. p. 139. & seq.

‘ These are Questions that a Man ought at least
 ‘ to ask himself, whether he asks others or no; and
 ‘ to chuse his Course of Life rather by his own Hu-
 ‘ mour and Temper, than by common Accidents,
 ‘ or Advice of Friends; at least if the *Spanish Pro-*
 ‘ verb be true, *That a Fool knows more in his own*
 ‘ *House, than a wise Man in another’s*— The mea-
 ‘ sure of chusing well, is, Whether a Man likes
 ‘ what he has chosen? Which, I thank God, has be-
 ‘ fallen me: and tho among the Follies of my Life,
 ‘ Building and Planting have not been the least, and
 ‘ have cost me more than I have the Confidence to
 ‘ own; yet they have been fully recompens’d by
 ‘ the Sweetness and Satisfaction of this Retreat;
 ‘ where, since my Resolution taken, of never entring
 ‘ again into any publick Employments, I have pass’d
 ‘ five Years without ever going once to Town, tho
 ‘ I am almost in sight of it, and have a House there
 ‘ always ready to receive me. Nor has this been
 ‘ any sort of Affectation, as some have thought it,
 ‘ but a mere want of Desire or Humour to make so
 ‘ small a Remove.’

In this Essay, Sir William boasts of having had
 the Honour * of bringing over four sorts of Grapes
 into England: And both there, and in several other
 parts of his Writings, mentions his *House and Gar-*
dens at Sheen; which being, at present, but incon-
 siderable, in comparison of several modern Country
 Seats, some have been apt to censure his taking no-
 tice of them as a piece of *vain Ostentation*. But the
 Example of *Montaigne*, and several other great Men,
 is sufficient to bear him out: and besides, it must
 be observ’d, that both *Gardening* and *Building* have
 been vastly improv’d in *England*, since the Writing
 of that *Essay*.

* Ubi supra, p. 121.

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In the Spring of the Year 1683, Sir William Temple, in compliance to his Son's desire, began to write MEMOIRS,* of what had pass'd in his publick Employments, especially those Abroad, which reach'd from the Year 1665, to 1678; and ran through the most important foreign Negotiations of the Crown, with great Connexion of Affairs at Home, during this Period, and the Revolutions it produc'd. The first Part of his Memoirs began with his Journey to Munster, contain'd chiefly his Negotiation of the Triple Alliance, and ended with his first Retirement from all Publick Business in the Year 1671, which was soon follow'd by the second Dutch War. He began the second Part with the Approaches of the Peace between England and Holland, in 1673, and concluded it with his being recall'd from Holland in February 1678-9, after the Conclusion of the Treaty of Nimeguen; in which Negotiation he acted the principal Part, as one of the English Mediators. The Third Part, containing what pass'd from the Peace concluded in 1679, to the time of the Author's Retirement, was written for the Satisfaction of his Friends, upon the Grounds of his Resolution, never to meddle again with Publick Affairs, from February 168 $\frac{1}{2}$.

As Sir William intended those Memoirs chiefly for his Son's Use, so he desir'd no other might be made of them, during his Life. But in the Year 1689. the Second Part was first printed for Richard Chiswell, with the Title of MEMOIRS of what pass'd in Christendom from the War begun in 1672, to the Peace concluded 1679. Some pretend † they were sent into the World without the Author's privity: But others

* See his Letter to his Son, prefix'd to the Second Part of his Memoirs.

† See Dr. Swift's Preface to the Third Part of Sir W. Temple's Memoirs, p. vi. Which is confirm'd by the Author's own Words, in his Answer to Du Cros. See infra.

are of Opinion, that Sir William, at least, conniv'd at their appearing Abroad. Be that as it will, the Publisher tells the Reader, he obtain'd those Papers from a Person, to whom he must never restore them again; and the Author had not inquir'd after them. I must needs confess, continues the Publisher, 'tis but too plain by the Epistle, that he intended they should not be publick during his Life; but tho I have as great a respect for him as any Man, yet I could not be of his mind in this. I think I should do the World wrong, to conceal any longer a Treatise of so much Profit and Pleasure to all that read it; and I hope I shall not be thought to do the Author any, in publishing it, since the Charge of not doing it was not given to me. I think likewise, that if any of his Friends can obtain of him the First and Third Parts of these Memoirs that are mention'd in them, they will do the Publick a great piece of Service, &c. What strengthens the Conjecture of Sir William's conniving at this Publication, is, that it does not appear he ever disown'd it, or so much as complain'd of it.

The First Part of Sir William's Memoirs were never printed; and Dr. Jonathan Swift, who publish'd the Third Part, and several other Writings of this Author, tells us *, Sir William Temple often assur'd him, he had burnt those Memoirs; and for that reason was content his Letters, during his Embassies at the Hague and Aix-la-Chapelle, (he might have added Munster) should be printed after his Death; in some manner to supply that Loss. What it was, continues Dr. Swift, that mov'd Sir William Temple to burn those first Memoirs, may, perhaps, be conjectur'd from some Passages in the Second Part, formerly printed. In one place the Author has these † words: My Lord Arlington, who made so great a Figure in the for-

* Ubi supra, p. xi.

† See the Second Part of Sir W. Temple's Memoirs, p. 390.
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mer Part of these *Memoirs*, was now grown out of all Credit, &c. In other parts he tells us, that Lord was of the Ministry that broke the Triple League; advis'd the Dutch War, and French Alliance; and, in short, was at the Bottom of all those ruinous Measures which the Court of England was then taking: So that, as I have been told from a good Hand, and as it seems very probable, he could not think that Lord a Person fit to be celebrated for his Part, in forwarding that famous League, while he was Secretary of State, who had made such Counterpases to destroy it.

The Third Part of Sir William Temple's *Memoirs* was not made publick, till many Years after the Author's Death, viz. in the Year 1709: The Reason of which is hinted at in the Preface prefix'd to them. It was, says the Publisher, perfectly in compliance to some Persons, for whose Opinion I have great Deference, that I so long with-held the Publication of the following Papers. They seem'd to think, that the freedom of Passages in these *Memoirs*, might give Offence to several who were still alive; and whose part in those Affairs which are here related, could not be transmitted to Posterity, with any Advantage to their Reputation. But whether this Objection be in it self of much weight, may perhaps be disputed; at least, it should have little with me, who am under no Restraint in that Particular; since I am not of an Age to remember those Transactions, nor had any Acquaintance with those Persons, whose Counsels or Proceedings are condemn'd, and who are all of them now Dead. One of the Persons, in compliance to whom Dr. Swift forbore so long the printing of the Third Part of Sir William's *Memoirs*, was undoubtedly the Lady Chifford, the Author's Sister; who took that Publication so ill at his Hands, that she publish'd an *Advertisement* against it. Dr. Swift did not think fit to vindicate himself in Print: which, together with his natural Disingenuity and Prevarication, too evidently manifested in his late Temporizing
and

and interchangeable Fawning upon, or Aspersing Great Men; gives but too just ground to believe, that in order to curry Favour with those in Power, he may have suppress'd, alter'd, or interpolated some Passages in those *Memoirs*.

That I may not be thought to pass too hard a Censure upon the *Doctor*, I beg leave to transcribe the following Paragraph out of his *Preface* before * quoted: *But, says he, as this Author is very free in exposing the Weakness and Corruptions of ill Ministers, so he is as ready to commend the Abilities and Virtue of others, as may be observ'd from several Passages of these Memoirs; particularly of the late Earl of Sunderland, with whom the Author continu'd in the most intimate Friendship to his Death; and who was Father of that most learned and excellent Lord, now Secretary of State: as likewise of the present Earl of Rochester, and of the Earl of Godolphin, now Lord Treasurer, represented by this impartial Author, as a Person, at that time, deservedly intrusted with so great a Part in the Prime Ministry; an Office he now executes again, with such universal Applause, so much to the Queen's Honour, and his own; and to the Advantage of his Country, as well as of the whole Confederacy. Now I must desire the Readers to try, whether they can reconcile these great Praises which Dr. Swift bestow'd, in the Year 1709, on the Earls of Godolphin and Sunderland, with what he has the Face to say in his Libels; and to own in his Burlesque Epistle to the present Lord Treasurer, printed in 1713. that he libell'd all the Junto round? For, 'tis well known, those two noble Peers were the chief Members of that excellent Ministry, which their Enemies invidiously call Junto. Is not this flagrant and shameless Prevarication?*

* To Sir W. Temple's *Memoirs*, Part III.

To proceed: In the Year 1693, Sir William Temple publish'd an Answer * to a scurrilous Pamphlet, lately printed, intituled, *A Letter from Mr. Du-Cros to the Lord ———*. This Du-Cros (whom we had occasion to mention before, p. 305.) bore, very impatiently, the Character Sir William had given of him, in the Second Part of his *Memoirs*, (p. 335.) viz. 'That he was formerly a French Monk, who
' some time since had left his *Frock* for a *Petticoat*;
' and insinuated himself so far in the *Swedish Court*,
' as to procure a Commission (or Credence at least)
' for a certain petty Agency in *England*: And that
' at *London* he had devoted himself wholly to Mon-
' sieur *Barillon*, the French Ambassador, tho pretend-
' ing to pursue the Interests of *Sweden*.' And thereupon he wrote, in *French*, a Pamphlet full of Invectives and scurrilous Reflections against Sir William Temple, whom he tax'd with *Pride*; and that he fancied himself the wisest and ablest Politician of his Age. In the fifth Page, he condescends to give him wholesom Advice, and sets him Copies to write after. 'To this purpose he recommends to his
' perusal the *Memoirs of Villeroy*, the *Negotiations*
' of *Jeanin*, and the *Letters of Cardinal Doslat*; in all
' which there reigns a Spirit of Sincerity and Modesty.' Sir William Temple answer'd to this, 'That he never
' presum'd to set himself in competition with any
' of those illustrious Persons: That he was no
' stranger to their Merits or Character; but was
' afraid that Monsieur Du-Cros had propos'd some
' Models to him, which he never intended to fol-
' low himself. That 'twas not Sir William Temple's
' Bookseller that call'd him one of the greatest Men
' of this Age, as Monsieur Du-Cros falsely insinuated,
' p. 5. but a Reverend Prelate of our Church, who

* Printed for Randal Taylor, and containing only 48 Pages in Octavo.

publish'd the *Memoirs* without the Author's Consent or Privity; and who, in his Advertisement to the Reader, does not stile him, *Un des Grands Hommes de ce Siecle*, as Monsieur Du Cros maliciously had printed it, but only *an Ornament to Learning and to his Country*.' After this, Sir William Temple, with a great deal of good Humour, turn'd into Pleasantry and Jest the invidious Calumnies of his ungenerous Adversary: but with equal Judgment, beltows a serious Answer upon the following heinous Accusation. 'Tis true, says Monsieur Du Cros, p. 14. that Sir William Temple has glitter'd for some time, but then he borrow'd all his Lustre principally from the Protection of a certain Nobleman, whom at last he betray'd, and of whom he makes insolent mention in his *Memoirs*, and that with the blackest Ingratitude that may be. To which Sir William returns this Answer: 'This is a very severe Charge, if it could be made out: But neither did Sir William Temple derive all his Lustre from my Lord Arlington, nor does he treat him insolently any where in his *Memoirs*. As soon as that Lord forsook his Master's and the Kingdom's real Interests, to cultivate the growing Power of a neighbouring Nation, Sir William Temple thought it high time to leave him; but it never enter'd so much as into his Thoughts to betray him.' After this, continues Du Cros, he (meaning Sir William) advanc'd himself by the Patronage of some other Persons; to whose Service he intirely devoted himself, to the Prejudice of his Duty: and so well did he insinuate himself into their Confidence and good Graces, the Post he was in giving him the Privilege to have a frequent Access to their Persons, that he was in a Capacity to have render'd very considerable Services both to the King his Master, and to his Country, if he had made the best use of that Advantage. 'If Sir William Temple, says the Answer, ever fail'd of doing the best Offices

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‘ he could for his King and Country, it might,
 ‘ perhaps, proceed from want of better Informa-
 ‘ tion, but his Duty and Affection were never in
 ‘ fault. This he thinks a sufficient Reply to this
 ‘ ill-grounded Calumny; for he never dedicated
 ‘ himself so intirely to the Service of other Persons,
 ‘ (Monsieur *Du Cros* must here mean the Prince of
 ‘ *Orange*) as to make the least Infringement of his
 ‘ Allegiance. And this will notoriously appear by
 ‘ several Passages in the *Memoirs*, but particularly
 ‘ p. 153. where Sir *William Temple* gives an Ac-
 ‘ count of a large Conversation between the Prince
 ‘ of *Orange* and himself in the Gardens at * *Hon-*
 ‘ *slaerdyke*. — What could Monsieur *Du-Cros* himself
 ‘ have done more in such a Station? Here was not
 ‘ the least Injury design’d to the late King: and as
 ‘ for the other part of Sir *William Temple*’s Discourse,
 ‘ his Obligations as well as Ties of Friendship to the
 ‘ Prince, necessitated him to give him a faithful Re-
 ‘ presentation of Affairs in *England*. — After all, an
 ‘ implicit blind Obedience may do well in *France*, or
 ‘ under a *Despotick Climate*; but *all the Application*
 ‘ *in the World will never bring it to perfection in Eng-*
 ‘ *land.*’ What Sir *William* says towards the Con-
 ‘ clusion, about *Du-Cros* being devoted to the *French*
 ‘ Ambassador, and the Dispatch he brought from
 ‘ *London* to the *Hague*, is very remarkable. ‘ At
 ‘ last, says he, Monsieur *Du-Cros* owns himself to
 ‘ be devoted to Monsieur *Barillon*; however, to
 ‘ mollify it somewhat, he pretends that he never
 ‘ made those Advances till that Ambassador cultiva-
 ‘ ted the Interests of his Master (the Duke of *Got-*
 ‘ *torp*) and of *Sweden*. A miserable Evasion! For
 ‘ how perfidiously the Ministers of that Crown have
 ‘ all along dealt with their Allies, let *Candy* and
 ‘ *Messina* proclaim to the World. *Their Friendship*

* See above, p. 240.

‘ has been fatal to all that ever depended upon it, as
 ‘ the Histories of the last Times will evidently
 ‘ shew: and tho they pretended never so cordially
 ‘ to espouse the Quarrels of their Confederates, yet
 ‘ they seldom scrupled to abandon their Interests
 ‘ when it made never so little for their Advantage
 ‘ to do it. —Perhaps ’tis a great deal of Pity, as
 ‘ he says; but, by his Favour, ’tis no Wonder at all,
 ‘ especially considering the Constitution of our
 ‘ Court at that Juncture, that when they were to play
 ‘ any private Game, they never thought it worth their
 ‘ while to acquaint Sir William Temple with their In-
 ‘ trigues. Nor does he envy the good Fortune of
 ‘ Monsieur Du-Cros for being made a Party in
 ‘ them.’ I thought it not amiss to quote these
 Passages out of Sir William Temple’s Answer, be-
 cause they serve to illustrate both his Life and
 Character.

Not long after, Sir William Temple was attack’d
 by more formidable Adversaries. He could not, it
 seems, without * Indignation, read either the Pa-
 negyrick of Modern Learning and Knowledg, in compa-
 rison of the Antient, with which Dr. Burnet ended
 his learned Treatise of the Theory of the Earth; or,
 Monsieur De Fontenelle’s giving the French Academy
 the Preference before the Antients, in Poetry and
 Oratory, as well as in Philosophy and Mathematicks,
 in a Discourse annex’d to his Pastorals. And there-
 upon Sir William wrote the Essay upon Antient and
 Modern Learning, before mention’d, wherein he op-
 pos’d these Modern Pretences, and set up the Excel-
 lency of Antient Learning. On the other hand, Mon-
 sieur Perrault, of the French Academy, was still
 warmer and bolder than Monsieur De Fontenelle, in
 his Patronage of the Moderns; preferring them be-
 fore the Antients in Painting and Architecture, as well

* Essay on Antient and Modern Learning, p. 2, 3.

as Oratory and Poetry; and setting up Mr. Bossuet, Bishop of Meaux, against Pericles and Thucydides; Mr. Flechier, Bishop of Nismes, against Isocrates; Father Bourdaloue against Lysias; Balzac against Cicero; Voiture against Pliny; and Corneille and Moliere against the antient Dramatick Poets. This Controversy making a great Noise in the Learned World, Mr. William Wotton, B. D. (then) Chaplain to the Earl of Nottingham, stept in as a MEDIATOR between the ablest Men of the two opposite Parties, Sir William Temple and Monsieur Perrault; and in a Treatise, entituled, REFLECTIONS upon Antient and Modern Learning, first publih'd in June 1694. endeavour'd, impartially, to state the Boundaries of each; and to give * every side its just due, by relating and comparing what these two elegant Advocates had severally alledg'd for their respective Hypotheses.

The general Proposition which Sir William Temple endeavours to prove in his Essay, is this; ' That if we reflect upon the Advantages which the antient Greeks and Romans had, to improve themselves in Arts and Sciences, above what the Moderns can pretend to; and upon that natural Force of Genius, so discernable in the earliest Writers, whose Books are still extant, which has not been equal'd in any Persons that have set up for Promoters of Knowledg in these latter Ages; and compare the actual Performances of them both together: we ought in justice to conclude, that the Learning of the present Age is only a faint imperfect Copy from the Knowledg of former Times; such as could be taken from those scatter'd Fragments which were sav'd out of the general Shipwreck.' On the other hand, Mr. Wotton pre-

* See Mr. Wotton's Preface to his Reflections on Antient and Modern Learning.

tends,

tends *, ' That Sir William Temple confounds two
 ' very different Things, or Questions, together;
 ' namely, *Who were the greatest Men, the Antients,*
 ' *or the Moderns?* and, *Who have carried their En-*
 ' *quiries furthest?* The first, continues he, is a very
 ' proper Question for a Declamation, tho not so
 ' proper for a Discourse, wherein Men are suppos'd
 ' to reason severely; because, for want of *Mediums*
 ' whereon to found an Argument, it cannot easily be
 ' decided. For tho there be no surer way of judging
 ' of the comparative Force of the Genius's of se-
 ' veral Men, than by examining the respective Beau-
 ' ty or Subtilty of their Performances; yet the good
 ' Fortune of appearing first, added to the Misfor-
 ' tune of wanting a Guide, gives the first Comers
 ' so great an Advantage; that tho, for instance, the
 ' *Fairy Queen*, or *Paradise Lost*, may be thought by
 ' some to be better Poems than the *Ilias*, yet the
 ' same Persons will not say, but that *Homer* was a
 ' greater Genius than either *Spencer* or *Milton*. Be-
 ' sides, when Men judg of the Greatness of an Inven-
 ' tor's Genius barely by the Subtilty and Curiosity
 ' of his Inventions, they may be very liable to
 ' Mistakes in their Judgments, unless they knew and
 ' were able to judg of the Easiness or Difficulty of
 ' those Methods or Ratiocinations, by which these
 ' Men arriv'd at, and perfected their Inventions;
 ' which, with due Allowances, is applicable to any
 ' Performances in Matters of Learning. —It will,
 ' however, be some Satisfaction to those who are con-
 ' cern'd for the Glory of the Age in which they live,
 ' if it can be prov'd, *First*, That so great Discoveries
 ' and Improvements have been made in real and
 ' useful Knowledge, that there is no probability
 ' that the World decays in Vigour and Strength;
 ' if (according to Sir William Temple's Hypothesis)

* See his *Reflections*, p. 7. & seq. First Edition of 1694.

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we take our Estimate from the measure of those Men's Parts, who have made these Advancements in these later Years; especially if it should be found, that the Antients took a great deal of Pains upon these very Subjects, and had able Masters to instruct them. Secondly, That there are other curious and useful Parts of Knowledg, wherein the Antients had equal Opportunities of advancing and pursuing their Inquiries with as much Facility as the Moderns, which were either slightly pass'd over, or wholly neglected. And, lastly, That by some great and happy Inventions, wholly unknown to former Ages, new and spacious Fields of Knowledg have been discover'd, and, pursuant to those Discoveries, have been view'd and search'd into with all the Care and Exactness which such noble Theories requir'd. If these three things should be done, both Questions would be at once resolv'd, and Sir William Temple would see that the Moderns have done something more than to copy from their Teachers, and that there is no Necessity of making all those melancholy Reflections upon * the Sufficiency and Ignorance of the present Age; which he, mov'd with a just Resentment and Indignation, has thought fit to bestow upon them'.

How far these things can, or cannot be prov'd, Mr. Wotton makes it his Business to inquire: And having consider'd the Excellencies of the Antients and Moderns, in relation to Moral and Political Knowledg, Eloquence, Poesy, Grammar, Architecture, Statuary, and Painting; owns, † That the generality of the Learned have given the Antients the Preference in those Arts and Sciences: But for the Precedency in those parts of Learning which still remain to be inquir'd into, among which he reckons

* Pag. 5, 55, 56. of Sir W. Temple's Essay.

† Wotton, ubi supra, p. 77. 1st. Edit. 1694.

Mathematical and Physical Sciences, in their largest extent, the *Moderns* have put in their Claim with great Briskness. After this, he gives us * a short Account of the History of Learning, as Sir *William Temple* had deduc'd it in his *Essay* from its most antient beginning; and then examining his Scheme step by step, raises many Exceptions against it, and yet more against the Conclusions which Sir *William* draws from it. Mr. *Wotton* having gone through the *Parallel* he propos'd at first to make of the Antients and Moderns, closes † all with Sir *William Temple's* words || a little alter'd, viz. 'Tho *Thales*, ' *Pythagoras*, *Democritus*, *Hippocrates*, *Plato*, *Aristotle* and *Epicurus*, may be reckon'd amongst the ' first mighty Conquerors of Ignorance in our ' World; and tho they made great Progresses in the ' several Empires of Science, yet not so great in ' very many Parts, as their Successors have since been ' able to reach. These have pretended to much ' more than barely to learn what the others taught, ' or to remember what they invented; and being ' able to compass that it self, have set up for Authors upon their own Stocks; and not contenting ' themselves only with commenting upon those ' Texts, have both copied after former Originals ' already set them, and have added Originals of ' their own, in many things of a much greater Value.' After this, Mr. *Wotton* examines, and endeavours to confute the *Reasons of the Decay of Modern Learning*, assigned by Sir *William Temple*: 'Tho, ' says he, having sufficiently prov'd that there has ' not been such a Fall in Modern Learning, as Sir ' *William Temple* supposes; nay, even that comparatively speaking, the Extent of Knowledge is, ' at this time, vastly greater than it was in former

* *Id. Ibid.* p. 88. *First Edit.*† *Ibid.* p. 341. *First Edit.*|| *Essay before quoted*, p. 30. or 28. of the *Fourth Edition*.

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‘ Ages; it may seem a needless thing to examine
‘ those Reasons which he alledges, of the Decrease of
‘ that which, in the gross, has suffer’d no decay.’

’Tis plain from all this, that Mr. *Wotton* soon forgot the part he pretended to act; and that having set up for a *Mediator* in his *Preface*, he appear’d as Sir *William Temple*’s *Antagonist* in the very first Chapter, and sustain’d that Character almost through his whole Performance. This Usage could not but be resented by a Person of Sir *William*’s *Merit* and *Sensibility*; but what nettled him more to the quick was, that a Person of far greater Distinction among the Learned, Dr. *Bentley*, Chaplain in Ordinary, and Library-Keeper to King *William III.* increas’d the number of his Adversaries. In his *Essay upon Antient and Modern Learning*, Sir *William* had advanc’d what follows *: *It may perhaps be further affirm’d, in favour of the Antients, that the oldest Books we have, are still in their kind the best. The two most antient that I know of in Prose, among those we call profane Authors, are Æsop’s Fables and Phalaris’s Epistles, both living near the same time; which was that of Cyrus and Pythagoras. As the first has been agreed by all Ages since, for the greatest Master of his kind, and all others of that sort have been but Imitations of his Original; so I think the Epistles of Phalaris, to have more Race, more Spirit, more Force of Wit and Genius, than any others I have seen, either Antient or Modern. I know several learned Men, (or that usually pass for such, under the name of Criticks) have not esteem’d them genuine; and Politian with some others, have attributed them to Lucian: But I think he must have little Skill in Painting, that cannot find out this to be an Original. Such Freedom of Thought, such Boldness of Expression, such Bounty to his Friends, such Scorn of his Enemies, such Honour of Learned Men, such*

* See that *Essay*, *Miscellanea*, p. 58. 4th Edition.

Esteem of Good, such Knowledge of Life, such Contempt of Death, with such Fierceness of Nature and Cruelty of Revenge, could never be represented but by him that possess'd them: and I esteem Lucian to have been no more capable of Writing than of Acting what Phalaris did. In all one writ, you find the Scholar or the Sophist; and in all the other, the Tyrant and the Commander.

In opposition to this, Dr. Bentley, in a DISSERTATION upon the *Epistles of Phalaris*, and others, and the *Fables of Æsop*, address'd to Mr. Wotton, and printed in 1697, at the end of the *Second Edition* of Mr. Wotton's *Reflections upon Antient and Modern Learning*, endeavour'd to demonstrate, that the *Epistles of Phalaris are spurious*, and that we have nothing now extant of *Æsop's own composing*. The Doctor professes * to his Friend, *That he writes without any regard to his Controversy, which he neither made his own, nor presum'd to interpose in it.* And 'tis certain, that *Dissertation* was principally level'd at the Honourable and Ingenious Mr. Charles Boyle, the present Earl of Orrery: But yet a few Lines after, he begins to fall foul on Sir William Temple. 'That some of the oldest Books are the best in their kinds (says Dr. Bentley †) the same Person having the double Glory of Invention and Perfection; is a thing observ'd even by some of the Antients ||. But then the Authors they gave this Honour to, are *Homer* and *Archilochus*, one the Father of Heroic Poem, and the other of *Epode* and *Trochaic*. But the choice of *Phalaris* and *Æsop*, as they are now extant, for the two great inimitable Originals, is a piece of Criticism of a peculiar Complexion, and must proceed from a singularity of Palate and Judgment.' After many

* Dr. Bentley's *Dissertation*, p. 6.

† Ibid. p. 7.

|| Dion. Chrysost. Orat. 33. p. 397.

*critical Arguments from Words and Language, and Inconsistencies of Times and Places, Dr. Bentley pretends, ' That the very * Matter and Business of the Letters sufficiently discovers them to be an Imposture. What Force of Wit and Spirit in the Stile, continues he? What lively painting of Humour, some fancy they discern there, I will not examine nor dispute. But, methinks, little Sense and Judgment is shewn in the Ground-work, and Subject of them. What an improbable and absurd Story is that of the LIV? What an Inconsistency is there between the LI and LXIX Epistles? That a Scene of putid and senseless Formality are the LXXIIX, LXXIX, and CXLIV? It would be endless to prosecute this Part, and shew all the Silliness and Impertinency in the Matter of the Epistles: For take them in the whole Bulk, if a great Person would give me leave, I should say, they are a Fardle of Common-Places, without any Life or Spirit from Action or Circumstance. Do but cast your Eye upon Cicero's Letters, or any States-Man's, as Phalaris was: what lively Characters of Men there! What Descriptions of Place! What Notifications of Time! What Particularity of Circumstances! What Multiplicity of Designs and Events! When you return to these again, you feel, by the Emptiness and Deadness of them, that you converse with some dreaming Pedant with his Elbow on his Desk; not with an active, ambitious Tyrant, with his Hand on his Sword, commanding a Million of Subjects. All that takes and affects you, is Stiffness and Stateliness, and Operoseness of Stile: but as that is improper and unbecoming in all Epistles, so especially it is quite alien from the Character of Phalaris, a Man of Business and Dispatch.' Dr. Bentley having after-*

* Pag. 55. & seq.

wards examin'd the Epistles ascrib'd to *Themistocles*, *Socrates*, *Euripides*, and others, proceeds to the *Fables of Æsop*. ' And here, says * he, I am
 ' glad to find a good part of the Work done ready
 ' to my hand: For Monsieur *Bachet Sr. de Meziriac*,
 ' has writ the Life of *Æsop* in *French*: Which Book
 ' tho I could never meet with it, I can guess from
 ' the great Learning of the Author, known to me
 ' by his other Works, to have in a manner ex-
 ' hausted the Subject. *Vavaſor* too, *De Ludicra*
 ' *Diſtione*, ascribes the present *Fables* to *Maximus*
 ' *Planudes*, and not to *Æsop* himself. See also a
 ' great deal upon this Head in the late *Historical*
 ' *Dictionary* of Mr. *Bayle*. All which made me look
 ' upon Sir *William Temple*'s mighty Commendation
 ' of the *Æsopian Fables*, now extant, which is the
 ' occasion of this Treatise, to be an unhappy Para-
 ' dox; neither worthy of the great Author, nor
 ' agreeable to the rest of his excellent Book. For
 ' if I do not much deceive my self, I shall soon
 ' make it appear, that of all the Compositions of
 ' the *Æsopic Fables*, these that we have now left
 ' us, are both the last and the worst; and that 'tis
 ' very uncertain, if *Æsop* himself left any *Fables* be-
 ' hind him in Writing, &c.'

In Answer to Mr. *Wotton* and Dr. *Bentley*, Sir *William Temple* began an *Essay*, which some time after his Death, was printed in his MISCELLANEA, the *Third Part*; with the Title of *Some Thoughts upon Reviewing the Essay, of Antient and Modern Learning*. ' I have (says Sir *William* †) been induc'd by
 ' several Motives to take a farther Survey of the
 ' Controversy arisen of late Years, concerning the
 ' Excellence of *Antient and Modern Learning*. First,
 ' The common Interest of Learning in general, and

* Pag. 135.

† Miscellanea, Part III. p. 203. & seq. Edit. of 1701.

' parti-

particularly in our Universities; and to prevent
 the Discouragement of Scholars, in all degrees,
 from reading the Antient Authors, who must be
 acknowledg'd to have been the Foundation of all
Modern Learning, whatever the Superstructures
 may have been. Next a just Indignation at the
 Insolence of the Modern Advocates, in defaming
 those Heroes among the Antients, whose Memory
 has been sacred and admir'd for so many Ages;
 as *Homer, Virgil, Pythagoras, Democritus, &c.* This
 I confess, gave me the same kind of Horror I
 should have had, in seeing some young barbarous
Goths or Vandals breaking or defacing the admi-
 rable Statues of those antient Heroes of *Greece*
 or *Rome*, which had so long preserv'd their Memo-
 ries honour'd and almost ador'd, for so many Ge-
 nerations. My last Motive was to vindicate the
 Credit of our Nation, as others have done the
French, from the Imputation of this Injustice and
 Presumption, that the Modern Advocates have
 us'd in this Case. — The *Miscellanea*, whereof the
Essay upon Antient and Modern Learning was a part,
 being translated into *French*, the Members of that
 Academy were so concern'd and asham'd, that a
 Stranger should lay such an Infamy upon some of
 their Society, as Want of Reverence for the An-
 tients, and the Presumption of preferring the
 Moderns before them; that they fell into great
 Indignation against the few Criminals among
 them: they began to pelt them with Satirs and
 Epigrams in Writing, and with bitter Railleries
 in their Discourses and Conversations; and led
 them such a life, that they soon grew weary of
 their new-fangled Opinions; which had, per-
 haps, been taken up at first, only to make their
 Court, and at second hand, to flatter those who
 had flatter'd their King. Upon the *Miscellanea's*
 first

first printing in *Paris*, Monsieur Boileau made this
short * *Satir.*

*Clio vint l'autre jour se plaindre au Dieu des Vers,
Qu'en certain lieu de l'Univers,
On traitoit d'Auteurs froids, de Poëtes steriles,
Lets Homeres & les Virgiles.
Cela ne sauroit être ; on s'est moqué de vous,
Reprit Apollon en courroux :
Où peut on avoir dit une telle Infamie ?
Est-ce chez les Hurons, chez les Topinamboux ?
C'est à Paris. C'est donc dans l'Hôpital des Fous ?
Non, c'est au Louvre, en pleine Academie.*

Thus English'd by Mr. Ozell:

CLIO complain'd upon a time
To PHOEBUS, God of Day and Rhyme :
You can't imagine, Sir, said she,
That such a thing should ever be,
In any Corner of the World,
Where-e'er your golden Beams are hurl'd ;
That an ungracious Set of Men
Should call with Tongue, or write with Pen,
HOMER and VIRGIL, barren Tools,
And an insipid Brace of Fools.
Impossible! APOLLO cry'd.
'Tis very true, the Muse reply'd.
Perhaps among those salvage Sots,
The Hurons, or the Hottentots!
At Paris. In a Mad-House then ?
No, by a Pack of Learned Men:
And at the Louvre it was done,
Before the Eyes of you, the Sun.

* I have printed both this Epigram and the following, as they are to be seen in Mr. Boileau's Works ; and not as they are quoted and inserted in Sir William Temple's Essay ; where they are misprinted, I suppose, either through the Ignorance or Negligence of the Editor.

Upon

‘ Upon the same Occasion, and about the same
‘ Time, Monsieur Racine * made this other; which
‘ more particularly touch’d Monsieur Perrault, as
‘ the first did Monsieur Fontenelle.

*D’où vient que Ciceron, Platon, Virgile, Homere,
Et tous ces grands Auteurs que l’Univers revere,
Traduits dans vos Ecrits nous paroissent si sots ?
Perrault, c’est qu’en prêtant à ces Esprits sublimes
Vos façons de parler, vos bassesses, vos rimes,
Vous les faites tous des Perraults.*

Thus English’d by the same Hand :

How comes it, Perrault, I would gladly know,
That Authors of two Thousand Years ago,
Whom in their Native Dress all Times revere,
In your Translations should so flat appear ?
’Tis you divest them of their own Sublime,
By your vile Crudities, and humble Rhyme.
They’re thine, when suffering thy wretched Phrase,
And then no wonder, if they meet no Praise.

‘ Some of the French Academy, continues Sir Wil-
‘ liam Temple, took care to send these, and other
‘ such Pieces into England, and other Countries, to
‘ clear their Reputation from the Slander drawn
‘ upon them by Two or Three of their Body;
‘ and treated the Reverence of the Antients as
‘ something Sacred, and the want of it as Barba-
‘ rous and Profane. Monsieur Perrault, to escape
‘ the rest of this Storm, soon chang’d his Party,
‘ professing it upon all Occasions: And, to shew
‘ the truth of his Conversion, publish’d, among

* Sir William Temple, by mistake, fathers on Racine this Epigram, which was writ by Monsieur Boileau, and is publish’d with his Works.

‘ other

' other small Pieces, the Dialogue in *Homer*, be-
 ' tween *Hector* and *Andromache*, which he had
 ' translated, and presented to the Academy, *March*
 ' 3. 1693. — By this it appears, with what
 ' Indignation and Scorn this new Opinion of our
 ' Modern Admirers has been us'd in *France*, and how
 ' penitent a Recantation Monsieur *Perrault* thought
 ' fit to make for his former Errors. So as those
 ' who have since follow'd and defended him, or his
 ' first Opinions, seem to have been decoy'd into the
 ' Net by another Duck, that flew away as soon as
 ' they were caught. Therefore the late Objections
 ' against that *Essay*, seem to have been writ without
 ' any Intelligence of what pass'd at *Paris* before,
 ' or about that time; having had the ill fortune
 ' to be deserted in *France*, and not countenanc'd,
 ' that I know of, in *England*. For the learned
 ' Author of the *Antidiluvian* World, tho most
 ' concern'd in that *Essay* upon this Subject, has
 ' been so far from defending this new Asser-
 ' tion, that he has since publish'd his *Archæologia*,
 ' and therein shewn both his great Knowledg and
 ' Esteem of the antient Learning; and prov'd
 ' thereby, that whoever knows it, must esteem it:
 ' and left such Modern Advocates for an Evidence
 ' of the contrary, that whoever despises it, in com-
 ' parison of the new, does not know it.*

After a short Vindication of *Pythagoras*, the seven
Sages, *Empedocles*, and *Democritus*, he adds: ' Since
 ' * the Modern Advocates yield, tho very unwil-
 ' lingly, the Pre-eminence of the Antients in Poe-
 ' try, Oratory, Painting, Statuary, and Architec-
 ' ture; I shall proceed to examine the Account
 ' they give of those Sciences, wherein they affirm
 ' the Moderns to excel the Antients: whereof they
 ' make the chief to be, the Invention of Instru-

* Ubi supra, p. 230.

ments, Chymistry, Anatomy, Natural History
 of Minerals, Plants, and Animals, Astronomy,
 and Opticks; Musick, Physick, Natural Philoso-
 phy, Philology and Theology: Of all which I
 shall take a short Survey.' Here is a *Chasm* in
 Sir William's Essay, for which the *Publisher* of his
Posthumous Works accounts in this manner: Here it
 is suppos'd, the Knowledge of the Antients and Moderns
 in the Sciences last mention'd, was to have been com-
 par'd; but whether the Author design'd to have gone
 through such a Work himself, or intended these Papers
 only for Hints to some body else that desir'd them, is
 not known. After this, follows what Sir William
 writ on the antient Learning of the *Assyrians*, *Per-
 sians*, and *Egyptians*, with some Reflections on *Chy-
 mistry*, *Philology*, and *Divinity*; which gives him an
 opportunity to lash his two Antagonists. 'I must
 confess, says * he, that the Criticks are a Race
 of Scholars I am very little acquainted with;
 having always esteem'd them but like *Brokers*,
 who having no Stock of their own, set up and
 trade with that of other Men; buying here and
 selling there, and commonly abusing both Sides,
 to make out a little paltry Gain, either of Mony
 or of Credit, for themselves, and care not at
 whose Cost. Yet the first Design of these kind
 of Writers, after the Restoration of Learning in
 these Western Parts, was to be commended, and
 of much Use and Entertainment to the Age.
 'Tis to them we owe the Editions of all the an-
 tient Authors, the best Translations of many out
 of *Greek*, the restoring of the old Copies, maimed
 with Time or Negligence, the correcting of o-
 thers mistaken in the transcribing, the explaining
 of Places obscure, in an Age so ignorant of the
 Stile or Customs of the Antients: And in short,

* Ubi supra, p. 56. & seq.

endeavouring to recover these old Jewels out of
 the Dust and Rubbish wherein they had been so
 long lost or soil'd, to restore them to their na-
 tive Luster, and make them appear in their true
 Light. This made up the Merit and Value of
 the Criticks for the first hundred Years, and de-
 serv'd both Praise and Thanks of the Age, and
 the Rewards of Princes, as well as the Applause
 of common Scholars. But since they have turn'd
 their Vein to debase the Credit and Value of the
 Antients, and raise their own above those, to
 whom they owe all the little they know; and
 instead of true Wit, Sense, or Genius, to display
 their own proper Colours of Pride, Envy, or De-
 traction, in what they write: To trouble them-
 selves and the World with vain Niceties and cap-
 tious Cavils, about Words and Syllables, in the
 Judgment of Stile; about Hours and Days in the
 Account of antient Actions or Times; about an-
 tiquated Names of Persons or Places, with many
 such worthy Trifles; and all this to find some oc-
 casion of Censuring and Defaming such Writers
 as are, or have been most esteem'd in the World;
 raking into slight Wounds where they had any,
 or scratching till they make some, where there
 were none before: There is, I think, no sort of
 Talent so despicable, as that of such common
 Criticks, who can at best pretend but to value
 themselves, by discovering the Defaults of other
 Men, rather than any Worth or Merit of their
 own: A sort of Levellers, that will needs equal
 the best or richest of the Country, not by im-
 proving their own Estates, but reducing those of
 their Neighbours, and making them appear as
 mean and wretched as themselves. The truth is,
 there has been so much written of this kind of
 Stuff, that the World is surfeited with the same
 things over and over; or old common Notions,

new

‘ new dress’d, and, perhaps, embroider’d. — One
 ‘ would think, that the *Modern Advocates*, after
 ‘ having confounded all the Antients and all that
 ‘ esteem them, might have been contented; but
 ‘ one of them, I find, will not be satisfy’d to con-
 ‘ demn the rest of the World, without applauding
 ‘ himself: and therefore falling into a Rapture upon
 ‘ the Contemplation of his own wonderful Perfor-
 ‘ mance, he tells us; *Hilberto, in the main, I please*
 ‘ *my self, that there cannot be much said against what*
 ‘ *I have asserted* *. I wonder a Divine upon such
 ‘ an Occasion, should not at least have had as much
 ‘ Grace as a *French Lawyer in Montagne*; who,
 ‘ after a dull tedious Argument, that had wearied
 ‘ the Court and the Company, when he went from
 ‘ the Bar, was heard muttering to himself; *Non*
 ‘ *nobis, Domine, non nobis*: But this Writer, rather
 ‘ like the proud *Spaniard*, that would not have
 ‘ *St. Laurence’s* Patience upon the Gridiron ascrib’d
 ‘ to the Grace of God, but only to the true *Spanish*
 ‘ Valour; will not have his own Perfections and
 ‘ Excellencies owing to any thing else but the true
 ‘ Force of his own Modern Learning; and there-
 ‘ upon he falls into the sweet Extasy of Joy, where-
 ‘ in I shall leave him till he come to himself.’ After
 this, Sir *William Temple* brings the main Question to
 a Point, and says, That ‘ the whole Cause between
 ‘ the Pretensions of Antient and Modern Learning,
 ‘ will be best decided by the Comparison of the
 ‘ *Persons and the Things* that have been produc’d
 ‘ under the Institutions and Discipline of the one
 ‘ or the other: And concludes, that the first Chap-
 ‘ ter of the *Ecclesiastes*, with many other Passages in
 ‘ that admirable Book, were enough, one would think,
 ‘ to humble and mortify the Presumption of our Mo-
 ‘ dern Sciologists, if their Pride were not as great as

* *Mr. Wotton in his Reflections*, p. 390. 1st Edition of 1694.

‘ their Ignorance ; or if they knew the rest of the
 ‘ World any better than they know themselves.’

This *Essay* of Sir *William Temple*’s, as was hinted before, was never finish’d, nor publish’d in his Lifetime : But yet he had the satisfaction to see the *Modern Advocates* exploded in *England*, as they had been in *France*, and other Countries ; and that both the Universities and the Town highly resented that a Person of his Character and Merits should be so roughly us’d, without any manner of Provocation. Among the rest, the ingenious Author of the TALE OF A TUB, warmly espous’d Sir *William Temple*’s Quarrel ; and, in his *Ludicrous Sarcastick Strain*, expos’d Sir *William*’s Reverend Adversaries. ‘ To speak
 ‘ a bold Truth, says * he, it is a fatal Miscarriage,
 ‘ so ill to order Affairs, as to pass for a Fool in one
 ‘ Company, when in another you might be treated
 ‘ as a Philosopher : Which I desire some certain Gentle-
 ‘ men of my Acquaintance, to lay up in their Hearts
 ‘ as a very seasonable Innuendo. This, indeed, was
 ‘ the fatal Mistake of that worthy Gentleman, my
 ‘ most ingenious Friend, Mr. W--tt--n ; a Person,
 ‘ in appearance ordain’d for great Designs, as well
 ‘ as Performances ; whether you will consider his
 ‘ Notions or his Looks, Surely, no Man ever ad-
 ‘ vanc’d into the Publick, with fitter Qualifications
 ‘ of Body and Mind, for the Propagation of a new
 ‘ Religion. Oh ! had these happy Talents, misap-
 ‘ ply’d to vain Philosophy, been turn’d into their
 ‘ proper Channels of *Dreams* and *Visions*, where
 ‘ Distortion of Mind and Countenance are of such
 ‘ sovereign Use, the base detracting World would
 ‘ then have dar’d to report, that something is a-
 ‘ miss, that his Brain has undergone an unlucky
 ‘ shake ; which even his Brother *Modernists* them-
 ‘ selves, like Ungrates, do whisper so loud, that it

* *Tale of a Tub*, p. 167. 4th Edition, in 8°.

‘ reaches up to the very Garret I am now writing
 ‘ in!’ A few Pages after, the Author of the *Tale*
 ‘ of a Tub has a Fling at Mr. Wotton’s Second. ‘ There
 ‘ is, says * he, in this famous Island of Britain, a
 ‘ certain paultry Scribler, very voluminous, whose
 ‘ Character the Reader cannot wholly be a Stranger
 ‘ to. He deals in a pernicious kind of Writings,
 ‘ call’d *Second Parts*, and usually passes under the
 ‘ Name of *The Author of the First*. I easily foresee,
 ‘ that as soon as I lay down my Pen, this nimble
 ‘ Operator will have stole it, and treat me as inhu-
 ‘ manly as he has already done Dr. Bl——re,
 ‘ L——ge, and many others, who shall be here
 ‘ nameless. I therefore fly for Justice and Relief,
 ‘ into the hands of that great *Rectifier of Saddles*, and
 ‘ *Lover of Mankind*, Dr. B——tly; begging he will
 ‘ take this enormous Grievance into his most *Modern*
 ‘ Consideration: and if it should happen, that the
 ‘ *Furniture of an Ass*, in the Shape of a *Second Part*,
 ‘ must, for my Sins, be clapt, by a mistake, upon
 ‘ my Back; that he will immediately please, in the
 ‘ Presence of the World, to lighten me of the Bur-
 ‘ den, and take it home to his own House, till the
 ‘ true Beast thinks fit to call for it.’

The Author of the *Tale of a Tub* did in a more particular manner, and, as the Phrase is, *ex professo*, vindicate Sir William Temple, and ridicule his Adversaries, in a Discourse, of which he undoubtedly took the Hint from an *Allegorical Novel*, † written in French by Monsieur de Furetiere; and which he printed by way of Appendix to the *Tale of a Tub*, with the Title of *A full and true Account of the Battel fought last Friday, between the Antient and the Modern Books in St. James’s Library*. He wittily supposes, that

* *Tale of a Tub*, p. 187.

† Entituled, *Nouvelé Allegorique des derniers Troubles arrivez au Royaume d’Eloquence, &c.*

there

there appearing no end of the famous Dispute that was on foot in the Year 1697. about *Antient and Modern Learning*; at length, the *Books* in *St. James's Library*, looking upon themselves as Parties principally concern'd, took up the Controversy, and came to a *decisive Battel*. 'The *Guardian* of the *Regal Library*, says * he, a Person of great Valour, but chiefly renown'd for his *Humanity*, had been a fierce Champion for the *Moderns*; and in an Engagement upon *Parnassus*, had vow'd, with his own Hands, to knock down two of the *Antient Chiefs*, who guarded a small Pass on a superior Rock; but endeavouring to climb up, was cruelly obstructed by his own unhappy Weight and Tendency towards the Center; a Quality to which those of the *Modern Party* are extreme subject: For being light-headed, they have, in Speculation, a wonderful Agility, and conceive nothing too high for them to mount; but in reducing to Practice, discover a mighty Pressure upon their Posteriors and their Heels. Having thus fail'd in his Design, the disappointed Champion bore a cruel Rancour to the *Antients*, which he resolv'd to gratify, by shewing all Marks of his Favour to the Books of their Adversaries, and lodging them in the fairest Apartments; when, at the same time, whatever *Book* had the Boldness to own it self for an Advocate of the *Antients*, was buried alive in some obscure Corner, and threatned, upon the least displeasure, to be turned out of doors. Besides, it so happen'd, that about this time, there was a strange Confusion of Place among all the Books in the Library; for which several Reasons were assign'd. Some imputed it to a great Heap of *learned Dust*, which a perverse Wind blew off from a Shelf of *Moderns*

* *Tale of a Tub*, p. 238, 239. 4th Edition.

‘ into the *Keeper’s* Eyes. Others affirm’d, he had
 ‘ a Humour to pick the *Worms* out of the *Schoolmen*,
 ‘ and swallow them fresh and fasting; whereof some
 ‘ fell upon his *Spleen*, and some climb’d up into his
 ‘ Head, to the great Perturbation of both. And,
 ‘ lastly, others maintained, that by walking much
 ‘ in the dark about the Library, he had quite lost
 ‘ the Situation of it out of his Head; and there-
 ‘ fore, in replacing his *Books*, he was apt to mis-
 ‘ take, and clap *Des-Cartes* next to *Aristotle*; poor
 ‘ *Plato* had got between *Hobbes* and the *Seven Wise*
 ‘ *Masters*; and *Virgil* was hemm’d in with *Dryden*
 ‘ on one side, and *Withers* on the other, &c.’

To return to Sir William Temple’s Works: in his MISCELLANEA, *The Third Part*, besides the ESSAY before mention’d, in *Defence of the former ESSAY* upon Antient and Modern Learning, there were publish’d two other ESSAYS, viz. one on POPULAR DISCONTENTS, and another upon HEALTH AND LONG LIFE; with HEADS design’d for an *Essay upon the different Conditions of Life and Fortune*. HEADS for another *Essay on Conversation*; and some *Copies of Verses* written at different Times, and on several Subjects.

The Publisher, Jonathan Swift, at that * time, only Master of Arts, and Prebendary of *St. Patrick’s Dublin*, acquaints the Reader, ‘ That the two *Essays*
 ‘ of *Popular Discontents*, and of *Health and Long Life*,
 ‘ were written many Years before the Author’s
 ‘ Death: That they were revised and corrected by
 ‘ himself; and were designed to have been a part
 ‘ of a third *Miscellanea*, to which some others were
 ‘ to have been added, if the latter Part of his Life
 ‘ had been attended with any sufficient Degree of
 ‘ Health.’ But as for the third Paper, relating to
 the Controversy about *Antient and Modern Learning*,

* In the Year 1701.

Mr. Swift ingenuously owns, *He cannot well inform the Reader upon what Occasion it was writ, having been at that time in another Kingdom; but that it appears never to have been finish'd by the Author.* Upon this, I cannot but observe, that it seems very improbable, if not altogether impossible, that Dr. Swift, a Person of Learned Conversation, should be altogether ignorant of the famous Dispute about *Antient and Modern Learning*; which gave birth to that *Second Essay* of Sir William Temple's upon that Subject. This I am sure of, that had not Dr. Swift made that publick declaration, he would very highly, and indeed justly, resent the being tax'd by any other, with being ignorant of a Passage that made so great Noise in the Commonwealth of Learning. This Consideration suggests to me a *Conjecture* which I shall venture to publish, *viz.* That the Doctor, who, at the Time of the Publication of the *Third Miscellanea*, was generally suspected of being the Author of the *Tale of a Tub*, which came Abroad some time before, and which he did not think fit to own, might fancy, that by his Disclaiming the Knowledge of the Occasion on which Sir William wrote the Essay before mention'd, he would weaken the suspicion of his having writ the *Tale of a Tub*; which last is a *Subsidiary Defence* of Sir William Temple. However, I only write this as a *Conjecture*.

The *Copies of Verses* printed at the end of the *Third Miscellanea*, are a few Translations from *Virgil*, *Horace*, and *Tibullus*; or rather *Imitations*, done by Sir William above thirty Years before; whereof the first was printed among other *Eclogues* of *Virgil* in the Year 1679. but without any mention of the Author. That which is worth all the rest, and which, in a most lively manner, expresses Sir William's great Love for his Country, was written upon the Approach of the Shore at Harwich, in January 1668. and begun under the Mast. It is as follows:

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Welcome the fairest and the happiest Earth,
 Seat of my Hopes and Pleasures, as my Birth:
 Mother of well-born Souls, and fearless Hearts,
 In Arms renown'd, and flourishing in Arts:
 The Island of *good Nature*, and *good Cheer*,
 That elsewhere only pass, inhabit here:
 Region of *Valour*, and of *Beauty* too;
 Which shews the Brave are only fit to woo.
 No Child Thou hast, ever approach'd thy Shore,
 That lov'd thee better, or esteem'd thee more;
 Beaten with Journeys, both of Land and Seas,
 Weary'd with Care, the busy Man's Disease;
 Pinch'd with the Frost, and parched with the Wind,
 Giddy with rolling, and with fasting pin'd;
 Spighted and vex'd, that Winds, and Tides, and
 Sands,
 Should all conspire, to cross such great Commands,
 As haste me Home, with an Account, that brings
 The Doom of Kingdoms to the best of Kings.
 Yet I *respire* at thy reviving sight,
 Welcome as *Health*, and chearful as the *Light*?
 How I forget my Anguish and my Toils,
 Charm'd at th' Approach of thy delightful Soils?
 How like a Mother, thou hold'st out thy Arms
 To save thy Children from pursuing Harms;
 And open'st thy kind Bosom, where they find
 Safety from Waves, and Shelter from the Wind?
 Thy Cliffs so stately, and so green thy Hills,
 This with Respect, with Hope the other fills
 All that approach thee, who believe they find
 A *Spring* for *Winter*, that they left behind.
 Thy sweet Inclosures, and thy scatter'd Farms,
 Shew thy Secureness from thy Neighbour's Harms;
 Their Sheep in Houses, and their Men in Towns,
 Sleep only safe, thine rove about the Downs,
 And Hills, and Groves, and Plains, and know no Fear
 Of Foes, or Wolves, or Cold, throughout the Year.

G g g

Their

Their vast and frightful Woods seem only made
 To cover cruel Deeds, and give a Shade
 To savage Beasts, who on the weaker prey,
 Or Human Savages more wild than they.
 Thy pleasant Thickets, and thy shady Groves,
 Only relieve the Heats, and cover Loves;
 Sheltring no other Thefts or Cruelties,
 But those of killing or beguiling Eyes.
 Their famish'd Hinds by cruel Lords enslav'd,
 Ruin'd by Taxes, and by Soldiers brav'd,
 Know no more Ease than just what Sleep can give;
 Have no more Heart and Courage, but to live.
 Thy brawny Clowns, and sturdy Seamen fed
 With manly Food, that their own Fields have bred;
 SAFE in their *Laws*, and easy in their Rent,
 Blest in their King, and in their State content:
 When they are call'd away from Herd or Plough
 To Arms, will make all foreign Forces bow;
 And shew how much a lawful Monarch saves,
 When *Twenty Subjects beat an Hundred Slaves*.
 Fortunate Island! if thou didst but know,
 How much thou dost to Heav'n and Nature owe!
 And if thy Humour were as good, as great
 Thy Forces, and as blest thy Soil and Seat;
 But then with Numbers thou would'st be o'er-run,
 Strangers, to breathe thy Air, their own would shun;
 And of thy Children, none abroad would roam,
 But for the Pleasure of returning *Home*.
 Come and embrace us in thy saving Arms,
 Command the Waves to cease their rough Alarms,
 And guard us to thy Port, that we may see,
 Thou art indeed the Empress of the Sea.
 So may thy Ships about the Ocean course,
 And still increase in Number and in Force.
 So may no Storms ever infest thy Shores,
 But all the Winds that blow, increase thy Stores.
 May never more contagious Air arise,
 To close so many of thy Children's Eyes;

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But all about thee Health and Plenty vie,
Which shall seem kindest to thee, Earth or Sky.
May no more Fires be seen among thy Towns,
But charitable Beacons on thy Downs;
Or else victorious Bonfires in thy Streets,
Kindled by Winds that blow from off thy Fleets.
Mayst thou feel no more Fits of factious Rage,
But all Distempers may thy *Charles* assuage,
With such a well-tun'd Concord of his State,
As none but ill, and hated Men, may hate.
And mayst thou from him endless Monarchs see,
Whom thou mayst honour, who may honour thee.
May they be *Wise* and *Good*; thy happy Seat,
And Stores, will never fail to make them *Great*.

In the Year 1695. Sir *William Temple* publish'd *An Introduction to the History of England*; of which, in the *Preface*, he gives us himself the following Account:

' I have often, *says he*, complain'd, that so ancient and noble a Nation as ours, so renown'd by the Fame of their Arms and Exploits Abroad; so applauded and envied, for their wise and happy Institutions at Home; so flourishing in Arts and Learning, and so adorn'd by excellent Writers in other kinds; should not yet have produc'd one good or approv'd general History of England. That of *France* has been compos'd with great Industry by *Des Serres*, with Judgment and Candor by *Mezeray*. That of *Spain* with great Diligence and eloquent Stile, by *Mariana*. That of the Empire, with much Pains and good Order, as well as Learning, by *Pedro de Mexia*: But ours have been written by such mean and vulgar Authors, so tedious in their Relations, or rather Collections; so injudicious in the Choice of what was fit to be told, or to be let alone; with so little Order, and in so wretched a Stile; that as it is a Shame to be ignorant in the

G g g 2

Affairs

Affairs of our own Country, so 'tis hardly worth
 the Time or Pains to be inform'd; since for that
 end a Man must read over a *Library* rather than a
Book; and, after all, must be content to forget
 more than he remembers. 'Tis true, some Par-
 cels or short Periods of our History have been left
 us by Persons of great Worth and Learning, much
 honour'd or esteem'd in their Times; as, part of
Edward the Fourth and *Richard the Third* by Sir
Thomas Moor; *Henry the Seventh* by Sir *Francis*
Bacon; *Henry the Eighth* by the Lord *Herbert*;
Edward the Sixth by Sir *John Hayward*; and Queen
Elizabeth by Mr. *Cambden*. There are besides these,
 many voluminous Authors of antient Times, in
Latin; and of Modern, in *English*, with some Fo-
 reigners; as *Froissart* and *Polidore Virgil*: out of
 all which might be fram'd a full and just Body of
 our *General History*, if collected with Pains and
 Care, and digested with good Order: For the
Architect is only wanting, and not the *Materials*
 for such a Building. I will confess, I had it in
 my Thoughts at one time of my Life, and the most
 proper for such a Work, to make an Abridgment
 of our *English Story*; having observ'd that *Meze-*
ray's Abregé of his own, was more esteem'd, and
 much more read than his larger Volume: but
 those Thoughts were soon diverted by other Im-
 ployments, wherein I had the Hopes, as well as
 Intentions, of doing some greater Services to my
 Country. I have since endeavour'd to engage
 some of my Friends in the same Design, whom I
 thought capable of atchieving it; but have not
 prevail'd; some pretending *Modesty*, and others
 too much valuing Ease. Therefore to invite and
 encourage some worthy Spirit, and true Lover of
 our Country to pursue this Attempt; I have con-
 sented to the publishing of this *Introduction to the*
History of England; wherein I have traced a short

Account

Account of this Island; the Names, the Inhabitants, and Constitution thereof, from the first Originals, as far as I could find any ground of probable Story, or of fair Conjecture; since Philosophers tell us, That *none can be said to know Things well, who does not know them in their Beginnings.* I have further deduc'd it through the great and memorable Changes of Names, People, Customs, and Laws that pass'd here, until the End of the first *Norman* Reign, which made the last and great Period of this Kingdom; leaving the Successions and Constitutions since that Time, so fix'd and establish'd, as to have lasted for the space of above six hundred Years, without any considerable Alteration, from so long a Course of Time, or such Variety of Events as have since arrived in the World. I have hereby beaten through all the rough and dark ways of this Journey, the rest lies fair and easy through a plain and open Country; and I should think my self happy to see it well pursu'd by some abler Hand, for the Honour of our Nation, and the Satisfaction of our own as well as foreign Readers, who shall be curious to know our Story. I wish it may be perform'd with the same good Intentions, and with much better Success than this small Endeavour of mine.'

It was the general Opinion, that Sir *William Temple*, who continued to the last a *true Friend* to the Prince of *Orange*, the late King *William* of ever-glorious Memory, publish'd at that time his *Introduction to the History of England*; both to compliment that Prince, under the *Character* of the *Norman Conqueror*, which he draws and sets off to great Advantage; and to assert the late *Revolution*, by shewing, that *Edgar Atheling*, who had an *undoubted Right of Succession* to the Crown, was *twice laid aside.*

And

And here we must take notice of the most grievous Accident that befel Sir *William Temple* in the whole Course of his Life, and under which a Man of less Fortitude and Philosophy than he, would certainly have sunk. Upon the *Revolution*, he had Offers made him of any Post in the Government he would pitch upon: But his Age and Infirmities confirming him in his Resolution, not to meddle any more with Publick Affairs, he was contented his Son should enjoy the Favour the King intended him. Hereupon Mr. *John Temple* was made Secretary at War in the room of Mr. *Blaitthwayt*; but he had hardly been a Week in his Office, when he resolv'd to make away with himself. That melancholy Passage is thus related by a foreign * *Journalist*. 'On Friday the 14th of April 1689, he (Mr. *Temple*) spent the whole Morning at his Office, where he made some Dispatches, and about Noon he took Boat in order to shoot the Bridg, as if he design'd to go to *Greenwich*. When he was got half way between *Whitehall* and *London-bridge*, he order'd the Watermen to put him ashore; and getting into a House, he made up a Pacquet with some Dispatches he had forgot to leave behind him for General *Ginckel*, and some other *Dutch* Officers, who, the next Day, were to set out for *Scotland*; and having seal'd the Packet, he sent it to his Office by a Porter. Being got again into his Boat, he bid the Watermen to shoot the Bridge through one of the middle Arches, where the Stream was most rapid, it being a strong Ebb; and when he was in the middle of the Current, he stood up, and threw himself into the River: Nor was it in the power of the Watermen to save him, by reason the Boat was carry'd off by the Rapidity of the Stream, and left behind his heavier

* *Mr. Lamberti*: See his *Memoires de la Revolution*, &c. Vol. II. p. 290. & seq.

‘ Body ; which they saw twice on the Water. Be-
 ‘ fore he cast himself away, he dropt in the Boat a
 ‘ Shilling for the Watermen, and a Note he had
 ‘ written on his Hat with a Pencil, which was to
 ‘ this effect :

M^r Folly in undertaking what I was not able to per-
 form, has done the King and Kingdom a great
 deal of Prejudice : I wish him all Happiness, and abler
 Servants than,

JOHN TEMPLE.

‘ ’Twas thought, at first, he thereby meant his In-
 ‘ capacity for the Place of Secretary at War ; the
 ‘ rather, because, the very day before, he had apply’d
 ‘ to the King for leave to resign his Office, by reason
 ‘ he did not think himself qualify’d to discharge it
 ‘ with Honour. His Majesty, with the Tenderness
 ‘ of a Father, bid him *think better on’t*, and told him,
 ‘ *if he was not yet capable of officiating himself, he might*
 ‘ *be in two or three Months ; and in the mean time, his*
 ‘ *Clerks would do the Business* : And Mr. Temple re-
 ‘ plying, that Mr. *Blaithwayt*, who was in that Of-
 ‘ fice before him, had two good Clerks, with whom
 ‘ he would not part ; the King told him, he would
 ‘ speak to Mr. *Blaithwayt*, and make him (Mr. *Tem-*
 ‘ *ple*) easy. But then it was observ’d, that for some
 ‘ Months past Mr. *Temple* was become Melancholy,
 ‘ avoiding Company ; and when he could not, be-
 ‘ tray’d his inward Heaviness through a forc’d
 ‘ Gaiety. And as, on the other hand, the *great De-*
 ‘ *triment* to the King’s Affairs, mention’d in his
 ‘ Note, could not be occasion’d by any Mistakes he
 ‘ had committed in a Place in which he had yet done
 ‘ little or nothing ; so, upon second Thoughts, Peo-
 ‘ ple traced his Melancholy and Misfortune to a
 ‘ remoter Cause. They call’d to mind, that soon
 ‘ after his Highness the Prince of *Orange* came to
 ‘ *London*, while there was a talk of sending Forces
 ‘ to

‘ to Ireland, for the Reduction of that Kingdom;
 ‘ Mr. Temple receiv’d a Letter from Mr. Ellis, Secretary to the Lord Tyrconnel, assuring him, That
 ‘ his Lordship was inclin’d to submit, provided fair
 ‘ Terms were offer’d him; and that the sending Forces to
 ‘ Ireland to reduce him, before any Proposals were made
 ‘ him, would but exasperate him, and force him upon
 ‘ a War, which might be prevented. Mr. Temple not
 ‘ only deliver’d this Letter to the King, but engag’d to him for Mr. Ellis’s Honesty; adding, His
 ‘ Majesty might rely upon his Intelligence. Whereupon
 ‘ it was resolv’d to dispatch Colonel Hamilton to
 ‘ Dublin, both to summon the Lord Tyrconnel to
 ‘ submit, and to offer him Terms’.

Whether Monsieur *Lamberti* be right in all the minute Particulars of his Relation, I will not pretend, nor is it material to determine: But ’tis certain he omits the principal, which is this. General (*Richard*) Hamilton being, upon suspicion, confin’d in the Tower, Mr. Temple made him now and then a Visit, upon the score of a former Acquaintance; and discoursing together about the present Juncture of Affairs, and how to prevent the Effusion of Blood in Ireland, the General said, the best way was to send thither a Person in whom Tyrconnel could trust; and he did not doubt if such a Person gave him a true Account of things in England, but he would readily submit. Mr. Temple communicated this Overture to the King, who approving of it, and looking upon Hamilton to be the properest Person for such a Service, ask’d Mr. Temple, *Whether he could be trusted?* Mr. Temple readily engaging his Word for General Hamilton, the latter was sent to Ireland: but instead of discharging his Commission with Honour, and persuading Tyrconnel to submit, he us’d all possible Arguments to encourage him to stand it out; and offer’d him his Assistance, which Tyrconnel gladly accepted. Upon the News of

Hamilton’s

Hamilton's Desertion, Mr. Temple express'd his deep Concern for it to the King; who being fully satisfy'd of his Innocence in that matter, his Majesty was pleas'd to soften his Uneasiness, by telling him, in *French*, *Hamilton nous a manqué de Parole, mais on ne peut pas compter sur tout le Monde*: that is, Hamilton has not kept his Word to us, but all Men are not to be relied upon *. Tho this Answer was rather *gracious* and *consolatory* than rebuking, yet Mr. Temple abandon'd himself to deep Melancholy; and not being able to bear the racking Thoughts of having been grossly impos'd upon; and, tho with a good Intention, of having committed an Error that was like to prove so detrimental to the King's Affairs, he resolv'd to ease himself, by parting with Life. He pitch'd upon that kind of Death which he thought the easiest and the shortest; and to make sure work, fill'd his Pockets with Lead or Stones, that he might drown the sooner. Mr. Temple being a very promising Gentleman, of great natural Abilities, as well as personal Accomplishments, the Publick were extremely concern'd at this private Misfortune. As for Sir W. Temple, tho, as a Father, he was most sensibly affected with the Loss of so worthy a Son, yet he bore his Affliction with Christian Resignation, or rather with the Firmness of a *Stoick*; being of the Opinion of that Sect, *That their wise Man might dispose of*

* We may here take notice, that Colonel Hamilton was taken Prisoner at the Battel of the Boyne, and being brought Prisoner to the King, his Majesty ask'd him, whether the *Irish* would fight any more? Yes, Sir, reply'd Hamilton, upon my Honour, I believe they will. When he pronounc'd the word Honour, the King look'd wistly upon him, and then turn'd about, repeating once or twice, *your Honour*; intimating, that what he assur'd upon his Honour, was not to be depended upon, since he had forfeited that before, by siding with *Tyrconnel*. And this was all the Rebuke the King gave him for his Breach of Trust. *History of K. William III. Vol. II. p. 188.*

himself, and make his *Life* as short as he pleas'd *: An Opinion, which tho I would not by any means patronize, yet which is none of my present Business to confute †. Mr. Temple had married Mademoiselle *Du Plessis Rambouillet*, a rich French Lady, of great Piety and Virtue; who had by him two Daughters, to whom Sir *William* bequeath'd the Bulk of his Estate; but with this express Condition, That they should not marry *Frenchmen*: A Nation to whom Sir *William* ever bore a general Hatred, upon account of their Imperiousness and Arrogance, with respect to Foreigners, very ill-suited with their *Servile Dependence* at Home; and against whom he had a particular Grudge ever since his Disputes with *Du-Moulin* and *Du-Cros*.

I shall not mention any other Particulars relating to Sir *William Temple*, for my Design is to represent and record his *publick*, not his *private Life*; and to avoid what I ever accounted a Fault in *Biographers*, the raking into minute *Domestick Passages*, and exposing *Privacies* to publick View. Nor shall I here draw a formal Character of Sir *William Temple*: Any intelligent Reader will, from the Account of his *Life* and *Writings*, readily form to himself the Idea of an accomplish'd Gentleman, a sound Politician, a Patriot, and a great Scholar; and if this great Idea should, perchance, be shaded by some Touches of *Vanity* and *Spleen*, he will be so candid as to consider, that the greatest, the wisest, and the best of Men have still some Failings and Imperfections, which are inseparable from human Nature.

As for his Person, his Stature was above the middle Size, well-set and well-shap'd; his Hair Ches-

* See Mr. Collier's Preface to the Emperor Marcus Antoninus's Conversation with himself, &c.

† Advorsumne illum causam dicerem,

Cui veneram advocatus? Terent. Adel. Act. iv. Sc. v.

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nut brown; his Face Oval; a large Forehead; a quick piercing Eye; a Sedate and Philosophical Look. He died towards the end of the Year 1700. at *Moor-Park*, near *Farnham* in *Surrey*; where, according to his express Directions in his Will, his Heart was buried in a Silver-Box, under the Sun-Dial in his Garden, opposite to the Window, from whence he us'd to contemplate and admire the Works of Nature, with his intirely-beloved Sister, the ingenious Lady * *Giffard*: who, as she shar'd and eas'd the Fatigues of his Voyages and Travels during his publick Employments, so was she the chief Delight and Comfort of his Retirement and Old Age.

Not long after his Death, Mr. *Jonathan Swift*, then Domestick Chaplain to the Earl of *Berkley*, one of the Lords Justices of *Ireland*, and who had liv'd many Years in Sir *William Temple*'s Family, in the Quality of an *Amanuensis*, publish'd Two Volumes of his LETTERS, Containing an Account of the most important Transactions that pass'd in Christendom, from 1665 to 1672; and which, according to the Title-Page, were review'd by Sir *William Temple* some time before his Death. These Letters were inscrib'd to King *William*, as follows:

To his most sacred Majesty WILLIAM III. King of England, Scotland, France and Ireland, &c.
These Letters of Sir W. Temple having been left to my Care, they are most humbly presented to your MAJESTY, by your Majesty's most dutiful and obedient Subject,
Jonathan Swift.

The Publisher, in his Epistle to the Reader, acquaints us, ' That this Collection is owing to the Diligence
' of Mr. *Thomas Downton*, who was one of Sir *William Temple*'s Secretaries, during the whole time
' they bear Date; and that he found the Book a-

* N. B. Her Name was misprinted above, p. 383. l. 33.

among Sir William Temple's Papers, with many others, wherewith he had the Opportunity of being long conversant, having pass'd several Years in his Family.' It is generally believ'd, says the Editor, that this Author has advanc'd our English Tongue to as great a Perfection as it can well bear; and yet, how great a Master he was of it, has, I think, never appear'd so much as it will in the following Letters; wherein the Stile appears so very different, according to the difference of the Persons to whom they were address'd, either Men of Business, or Idle; of Pleasure, or serious; of great, or of less Parts or Abilities in their several Stations: So that one may discover the Characters of most of those Persons he writes to, from the Stile of his Letters. At the end of each Volume is added a Collection, copy'd by the same Hand, of several Letters to this Ambassador, from the chief Persons employ'd, either at Home or Abroad in these Transactions, and during six Years course of his Negotiations. Among which are many from Pensionary John de Witt, and all the Writings of this kind, that I know of, which remain of that Minister so renown'd in his time. It has been justly complain'd of, as a Defect among us, that the English Tongue has produc'd no Letters of any value; to supply which, it has been the Vein of late Years, to translate several out of other Languages, tho, I think, with little success. Yet among many Advantages which might recommend this sort of Writing, it is certain, that nothing is so capable of giving a true Account of Story, as Letters are; which describe Actions, while they are alive and breathing; whereas all other Relations are of Actions past and dead: So as it has been observ'd, that the Epistles of Cicero to Atticus, give a better Account of those times, than is to be found in any other Writer.—The Author had frequent Instances from several great Persons both at Home and Abroad, to publish some Memoirs of those Affairs and Transactions, which are the Subject of these Letters:

but

but his usual Answer was, that whatever Memoirs he had written of those Times and Negotiations, were burnt; however, that perhaps after his Death, some Papers might come out, wherein there would be some Account of them: By which he meant these Letters.

The Publisher declares, 'He pretends no other part, than the Care, that Mr. Downton's Book should be transcrib'd, and the Letters plac'd in the Order they were writ. That he had also made some literal Amendments, especially in the Latin, French and Spanish; which he had taken care should be translated and printed in another Column, for the use of such Readers as may be unacquainted with the Originals. And that whatever Faults there may be in the Translation of the French and Latin, he doubts, he must answer for the greater part; and must leave the rest to those Friends who were pleas'd to assist him.' Since Dr. Swift had the Modesty to make this anticipated Apology for the Faults in the Translation, which, indeed, are many, and some of them very gross; it would be ungenerous to bear too hard upon him upon that score. There is an Error, in particular, which I would not, by any means, charge upon the Doctor; and that is, the mistaking the *Land-Lady* * for the *Land-Lady's Daughter*; a mistake, I'm sure, he could never be guilty of.

In the Year 1703, Dr. Swift publish'd Sir William Temple's LETTERS to the King (Charles II.) the Prince of Orange, the chief Ministers of State, and other Persons; being the Third and last Volume. These Papers, says the Editor in his Preface, are the last of this, or indeed of any kind, about which the Author ever gave me his particular Commands. They were corrected by himself, and fairly transcrib'd in his Life-time. I

* Sir W. Temple's Letters, Vol. I. p. 17. l. 3.

have in all things follow'd his Directions as strictly as I could: but Accidents unforeseen having since interven'd, I have thought convenient to lessen the Bulk of this Volume. To which end I have omitted several Letters address'd to Persons with whom this Author corresponded, without any particular Confidence, farther than upon Account of their Posts; because great numbers of such Letters, procured out of the Office; or, by other means (how justifiable, I shall not examine) have been already printed: but running wholly upon long dry Subjects of Business, have met no other Reputation than merely what the Reputation of the Author would give them. If I could have foreseen an end of this Trade, I should, upon some Considerations, have longer forbore sending these into the World. But I daily hear, that new Discoveries of Original Letters are hasting to the Press; to stop the Current of which, I am forc'd to an earlier Publication than I design'd. And therefore I take this Occasion to inform the Reader, that these Letters ending with the Author's Revocation from his Employments Abroad, (which in less than two Years was follow'd from all Publick Business) are the last he ever intended for the Press; having been selected by himself from great numbers yet lying among his Papers. By this Preface it appears, that the Third Volume of Sir William Temple's Letters were the last Papers of any kind, about which Dr. Swift had Sir William's particular Commands; and therefore it is not to be wonder'd, if the Lady Giffard took ill at his Hands, his publishing the Third Part of the Memoirs before-mention'd, without her Consent.

Before I conclude, I think it proper to take notice of two Objections that have been made against Sir William Temple's Writings; first, as to the Style, 'That he affects the use of French words, as well as some Turns of Expression peculiar to that Language: Next, that his Works are full of Inac-

curacies

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' *curacies* and Mistakes.' The first Objection has already been answer'd by the *Editor* of his Letters and other his *Posthumous Works*; who, in the Preface to the *Third Part* of Sir William's Memoirs, tells us, ' It is to be consider'd, that at the Treaty of *Nimègue* all Business, either by Writing or Discourse, pass'd in the *French Tongue*; and the Author having liv'd so many Years Abroad in that and former Embassies, where all Business, as well as Conversation ran in that Language, it was hardly possible for him to write upon Publick Affairs without some Tincture of it in his Style, tho in his other Writings, there be little or nothing of it to be observ'd. And as it was a thing he never affected, so upon the Objections made to his former Memoirs, he blotted out some *French words* in these, and plac'd *English* in their stead, tho perhaps not so significant.' To this I shall only add, that bating a few * Expressions which seem to border too much upon the *French*, Sir William Temple deserves to be rank'd among the first Refiners and great Masters of the *English Tongue*. As for the *Inaccuracies* which some charge upon Sir William Temple, they are for the most part the Blunders of the Printer, or the Mistakes of the Editor †. However, as *Humanum est errare*, so it cannot be deny'd that some *Negligences* have escap'd Sir William Temple. The most material is his In-

* Such as Sufficient for Self-conceited, and Sufficiency for Self-Conceit: To defend for to prohibit, and Defence for Prohibition; Rapport for Relation; to respire, for to breathe; To arrive for to happen: Untreatable for Untractable; proned for cry'd up; to roll upon, for to turn upon; banded for combin'd.

† Such as, Labienus for Ligarius. *Miscel.* Part II. p. 313. Nicias for Lyfias, *Miscel.* Part III. p. 208, &c.

roduction

roduction to the History of England, p. 67. where instead of saying that Pope Boniface sent Austin the Monk to preach the Gospel in England, he should have said * Pope Gregory the Great.

* See Maimbourg's *Hist. of that Pope*. Paris Edit. in Quarto, p. 197.

F I N I S.







